This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

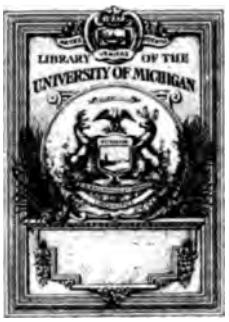
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

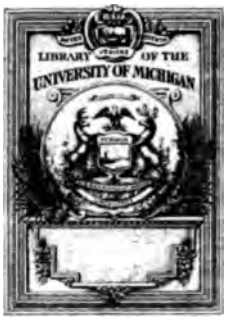
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

B 1,099,794



PRESENTED BY
THE PUBLISHER

F
146
.P45



PRESENTED BY
THE PUBLISHER

F
146
.P45

[redacted]

The Pennsylvania Magazine

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XLV

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLICATION FUND OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
No. 1300 LOCUST STREET.
1921

NOV 19 1921

Vol. XLV JANUARY, 1921 No. 177

GENERAL LIBRARY
NOV 19 1921
UNIV. OF MICH.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
FOR SUBSCRIBERS

PHILADELPHIA
1921

For Sale at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. Price 75 cents per Number, or $3.00 per year

Entered at the Post-Office at Philadelphia as Second-class matter.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

James Wilson and James Iredell. A Parallel and a Contrast. By *Hon. Hampton L. Carson, LL.D.* (*Portraits*) 1

Thomas Rodney. By *Simon Gratz, Esq.* (*Continued*) 34

Charles Lee—Stormy Petrel of the Revolution. By *Edward Robins, M.A.* 66

Notes and Queries 98

Book Notices 100

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MAGAZINE.

Copies of all the volumes of this MAGAZINE can be obtained at the Hall of The Historical Society, bound by Hyman Zucker, in the very best manner, in the style known as Roxburgh, half cloth, uncut edges, gilt top, for $4.25 each and the postage. They will be furnished to subscribers in exchange for unbound numbers, in good condition, on the receipt of $1.25 per volume and the postage.

PRINTED BY PATTERSON & WHITE CO.

Gen.
Gift Publ.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XLV.

PAGE

The Political Ideas of John Adams. By *Francis Newton Thorpe*, Ph.D., LL.D. 1

Thomas Rodney. By *Simon Gratz, Esq.* (*Continued*) 47, 180

The Cock-Fighter. An unpublished poem by *Francis Hopkinson* 73

An Early New Jersey Poll List. By *Henry C. Shinn*..... 77

The Lost Will of George Taylor, the Signer. By *James B. Laux* 82

Addenda and Corrections to Paintings by Gilbert Stuart, Not Noted in Mason's Life of Stuart. By *Mantle Fielding*..... 88

Notes and Queries 92, 204, 294, 388

Book Notices 95, 204, 298, 394

Journal of Col. John May of Boston, 1789 101

"A Whitemarsh Orderly Book," 1777. Found in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania 205

Letters from the Massachusetts Archives. By *George A. Taylor* 220

Extracts from a Common-Place Book. By *Henry D. Gilpin* 224

An Early Description of Pennsylvania. Contributed by *Professor R. W. Kelsey* 243

Robert Street, Artist. By *Mantle Fielding* 225

The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry. (*Illustrated.*) (*Continued.*) By *Major W. A. Newman Dorland, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S.* 257, 364

America's First Bathtub. By *George A. Reid* 292

The Life and Works of Benjamin West. (*Illustrated.*) By *Hon. Hampton L. Carson* 301

The Washington Pedigree; Corrigenda and Addenda. By *Charles H. Browning* 320

List of Officers 397

Index 401

[redacted]

HON. JAMES WILSON L.L.D.

THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XLV. 1921. No. 1.

JAMES WILSON AND JAMES IREDELL. A PARALLEL AND A CONTRAST.[1]

BY HAMPTON L. CARSON

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA BAR ASSOCIATION:

I visit your State with peculiar pleasure. For years past I have maintained the most agreeable relations with your representatives in the American Bar Association, and season after season have renewed and enlarged my friendships. The great work that is being done through the co-ordinated action of the Bars of forty-eight States is quickened by that delightful personal contact which gives zest to our annual reunions, and strengthens the ties which bind the North and the South, the East and the West together in a great professional brotherhood. But there is an older and a closer tie which appeals to me most strongly. I have but to mention it, to secure your hearty recognition of its worth.

James Wilson of Pennsylvania, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, a Framer of the Constitution

[1] An address delivered before the North Carolina Bar Association, at Asheville, N. C., June 29, 1920.

of the United States, and James Iredell of North Carolina, a publicist and jurist of surpassing strength, were friends. They were colleagues during the first decade of the Supreme Court of the United States and both held commissions as Associate Justices signed by George Washington. The date of Wilson's commission was 29th September, 1789, and the date of Iredell's was the 10th of February, 1790. Wilson died at Edenton, N. C., on the 21st of August, 1798, Iredell died at the same place October 20th, 1799. It is a touching incident that on the day of Wilson's death Iredell sheltered the stricken widow beneath his own roof. Wilson was buried at Edenton, and North Carolina sheltered his ashes until November, 1906, when they were removed to Philadelphia, and re-interred in the church yard of old Christ Church.

The event was one of Interstate and National importance. The arrangements were under the skillful and competent direction of Burton Alva Konkle of Philadelphia, the historian, the author of a forthcoming Life and Works of Wilson in six volumes. The Governor of Pennsylvania and his party arrived at Edenton on the morning of November 20th, and were joined by the Governor and Chief Justice of North Carolina, in whose presence and that of a distinguished group of citizens, the exhumation was made. The cortege proceeded to Norfolk, Va., accompanied by members of the Cincinnati of North Carolina, as a guard of honor. The remains were received by the United States Government on board the U. S. S. Dubuque, and were carried to Philadelphia. There, guarded by United States Marines, the casket lay in State in Independence Hall, the scene of Wilson's greatest triumphs.

On November 22nd, Chief Justice Fuller, and Associate Justices Harlan, White, Peckham, McKenna, Holmes and Day, and Attorney General Moody, acted as Honorary Pallbearers. Governor Pennypacker and

Attorney General Carson of Pennsylvania, Chief Justice Mitchell and his Associates, the Federal Judges, the State Judges and members of the Bar, the Mayor of Philadelphia, the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Eastern Pennsylvania, and citizens who were descendants of Revolutionary families, marched in procession to Christ Church, the hearse being under the escort of the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry in full uniform.

Addresses were delivered by the Governor of Pennsylvania and by Samuel Dickson, Esq., Chancellor of the Law Association of Philadelphia, speaking for the Pennsylvania Bar, Dean Lewis of the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania, of which Wilson was the first professor, speaking for that Institution, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, speaking for American Literature, Andrew Carnegie, speaking for Scotch American Citizenship, Hon. Alton B. Parker, as President, speaking for the American Bar Association, Senator Philander C. Knox, speaking for the Congress, Mr. Justice White of the Supreme Court, speaking for the Judiciary, Attorney General Moody for the Nation, and myself, as Historian of the Supreme Court, delivering an address upon Wilson in the presence of a distinguished company. Will you pardon the personal intrusion? James Wilson's daughter married the brother of my maternal grandfather. For that reason, I spoke in behalf of the family. As I stood in the chancel of the historic church, and later saw the casket lowered into the vault, the thought came into my mind that some day I would like to come to North Carolina and in behalf of Pennsylvania, and of the family of Wilson express to your citizens and particularly to the warm hearted people of Edenton our deepest gratitude for the pious and reverential care with which they had guarded for so many years the bones of our distinguished son, and for the quick sympathy with which they responded to our re-

quest for permission to bring them home to a final resting place. That wish has been gratified. I thank you with an overflowing heart.

Do I need to announce my subject? For years it has been shaping itself in my mind, and your cordial invitation has furnished me with a long coveted opportunity. I shall speak of Wilson and Iredell, and particularly of their opposing theories of Constitutional interpretation as embodied in the case of Chisholm, Executor, versus Georgia, 2 Dallas, 419, the most famous and important case of that era. We can thus renew our allegiance to the Constitution, and review the principles upon which that allegiance rests.

In these days of seething discontent, when the waters of the great deep are stirred, it is well to face the perils of the present with a tranquil faith in the wisdom of the Fathers, who builded even better than they knew, and to proclaim with unfaltering courage our belief that in American Constitutional Freedom is to be found the strongest buttress of rational liberty and the most dependable insurance of the world's brightest hopes. James Iredell, when but a boy, wrote: "It does not follow that everything we receive from education is wrong, nor because we still continue to revere truths our fathers taught us to revere, that this must be the effect of prejudice."

James Wilson, a native of Scotland, and a student at St. Andrews, Glasgow and Edinburgh, at the age of twenty-one emigrated to New York, in the year 1765, and some months later arrived in Philadelphia. He read law in the office of John Dickinson, and supported himself as a tutor of the classics in the college at Philadelphia.

James Iredell, a native of England, of Irish extraction and of the blood of the redoubted Ireton, the son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell, at the age of seventeen came to Edenton, N. C., via Boston, in the year 1768, to fill

JAMES IREDELL

The Saint Memin Portrait

[redacted]

the office of deputy comptroller of his Majesty's customs at Roanoke, N. C., an office which he held until April, 1776. He read law in the office of Samuel Johnston, the naval officer of the Crown, whose daughter he subsequently married.

It is interesting to note the characters of the legal preceptors of the Scotch and Irish-English lads. It will enable us to judge of the intellectual and political influences by which both were surrounded, while still young and their minds were in plastic condition. John Dickinson was the author of the "Farmer's Letters" which in renown and in their telling effect were unequalled by any other serious political essays of the Revolutionary era. His foreign reputation as a pamphleteer exceeded that of any other American excepting Franklin. He was talked of in the salons of Paris, was likened to Cicero, and was noticed and applauded by Voltaire. These letters and his authorship of numerous other State papers and addresses led Bancroft, the historian, to call him "The Penman of the Revolution." He wrote the famous "Liberty Song," in which the well known lines occur:

> "In freedom we're born, and in freedom we'll live,
> Not as slaves, but as freemen, our money we'll give.
> United we stand, but divided we fall."

He became a member of the Continental Congress, an officer in the army, the Governor of Delaware, a member of the High Court of Errors and Appeals in Pennsylvania, and a Framer and Signer of the Constitution of the United States.

Samuel Johnston, the preceptor of Iredell, while not so widely known, was a lawyer of great powers. His political creed was expressed in a letter to his pupil, written at the time when the first constitution of North Carolina was being considered: "After all it appears to me that there can be no check upon the representatives of a people in a democracy, but the people them-

selves; and in order that the check may be more efficient, I would have annual elections." He was anxious to secure the rights of property, individuals and minorities, against the tyranny of majorities, the capricious fluctuations of the masses. To effect this as far as practicable, he was disposed to limit and restrain the powers of the Legislative Assembly by organic laws. In 1780 he was a member of the Continental Congress, and in 1787 was elected Governor of his State. He was eminent in the Debates of the first State convention called to ratify the Federal Constitution, and was its ardent supporter, and, after its qualified rejection, presided over a second convention which added North Carolina to the circle of the Union. He was then sent to the first Senate of the United States.

Such were the preceptors of Wilson and of Iredell. Though both pupils were possessed of strong and original minds, which ripened into intellects of bold and independent strength, developing upon somewhat divergent lines, yet it is not a hazardous surmise that each owed much to precept and example, and happily drew from their surroundings the most nourishing and wholesome principles which equipped them for the distinguished parts in the American drama which they were destined to fill.

Wilson after several years of practice at Reading and Carlisle, Pa., and Annapolis, Md., where the traditions of his successes at the bar still linger, returned to Philadelphia and soon stood in the foremost rank, attracting such attention as to be commissioned by Louis XVI as Avocat Général de la Nation Française à Philadelphie, while Washington, passing by the Wythes and Pendletons of Virginia, selected him as the preceptor of his nephew Bushrod Washington. He was for six years, though not continuously, a member of the Continental Congress, and was one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. As an orator he held high rank both

as an advocate and a parliamentary debater. He was one of the ablest and most active of the members of the Federal Convention, was one of the Signers of the Constitution, and his speeches in the ratifying Convention of Pennsylvania are regarded by students as among the most illuminating expositions of the work of that day, ranking with the papers of Madison, Hamilton and Jay collected under the title of "The Federalist." In 1790 he was chosen as Professor of Law in the University of Pennsylvania—the first publicly established law school in the United States, and his lectures, as published after his death in three volumes, constitute an interesting and valuable contribution to the literature of the profession, particularly as pointing out the differences between the American system and the English as described by Blackstone.

Iredell, though never conspicuous as an orator, steadily forced his way to leadership. He became a deputy Attorney General, and later Attorney General, a Councillor of State and a judge of the District Court. He was an active political writer. Two of his efforts deserve special mention: his discussion in a Newbern paper under date of August 17, 1786, of the subordination of the Legislature to the Constitution, which was embodied in his argument in the case of Bayard vs. Singleton, 1 Martin, 42, and his "Reply to the Objections of George Mason." Both of these papers raised him in the opinion of competent judges to the position of the ablest legal reasoner in his State. Indeed, it has been said, that they attracted the attention of Washington and led to his choice of Iredell to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States.

With this general review of the positions and attainments of the two men, it is now in order to examine with some particularity their views as statesmenlike lawyers upon the nature of constitutional government,

as a proper introduction to their judicial views of the great instrument they were called upon to construe.

Unfortunately we are without a record of the debates in the Continental Congress. The thirteen volumes of the Journal disclose only motions, reports, resolutions and ordinances. Hence we can only judge from acts what views that body entertained of its own powers. There is, however, in the closing part of the third volume of Wilson's Works an elaborate argument by Wilson entitled Considerations on The Bank of North America, published in 1785. So far as I know this is the earliest exposition of views concerning national sovereignty under the Articles of Confederation in the shape of a legal argument.

In May, 1781, Robert Morris, the superintendent of Finance, laid before the Congress a plan of a bank, which was approved by a series of Resolutions, providing that a Charter should be granted so soon as subscriptions should be filled, directors chosen and application made to Congress. It was also recommended to the States that they provide by law that no other bank or bankers should be established or permitted within the States during the War: that the notes to be issued by the bank, and payable on demand, should be receivable in payment of all taxes, duties and debts due or that might become due or payable to the United States: that the legislatures be asked to pass laws making it felony without benefit of clergy to counterfeit such notes, and to pass such notes knowing them to be counterfeit, and also providing against fraud or embezzlement by the officers and servants of the bank. The conditions of subscription having been complied with, Congress granted a Charter under the title, "The President and Directors of The Bank of North America," to certain individuals, of whom Wilson was one, on the 31st of December, 1781. This was done by an ordinance of incorporation, a copy of which was forwarded by

Morris to the Governors of each State asking for such State action as might be judged necessary to give the ordinance its full operation. Pennsylvania responded, on the 18th of March, 1782, by an Act for preventing and punishing the counterfeiting of the common seal, bank bills and bank notes of the Bank of North America, and on the first of April of the same year passed an "Act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of North America," reciting the ordinance of Congress, vesting all the powers usual to corporations in the same individuals as were named in the Congressional Charter, and declaring that this act should be construed and taken most favorably and beneficially for the corporation. Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island passed laws substantially similar. In 1785, the Treaty of Peace being eighteen months old, the repeal of the Pennsylvania act was attempted.

It was in opposition to this that Wilson's argument was made. He insisted on two points of great interest, and occupied advanced ground, anticipating by many years the views of Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, and the decisions of Marshall. He even anticipated the doctrine of the Dartmouth College case. The argument shows the depth, the boldness and the originality of Wilson as a constitutional lawyer, and is as remarkable for its simplicity as for its strength.

He presented but two questions: first, Is the Bank of North America constitutionally instituted and organized under the charter by Congress? and second, Would it be politic in the legislature of Pennsylvania to revoke the charter it had granted? Both of these he regarded as of "national" importance.

Observe the use of the word *national,* and consider the time when it was used. The only existing frame of Federal Government at the date of the charter—December, 1781—was under the Articles of Confederation, and was but nine months old. Those Articles were

reported to Congress late in 1777 by a Committee appointed in July, 1776, but the requisite number of States had not ratified them until March, 1781. Observe now the difficulties that Wilson had to overcome. The Second Article declared that, "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not, by the Confederation, *expressly* delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." In none of the Thirteen Articles was there a delegation of the power to grant charters of incorporation. Congress, however, had exercised the power and had acted, being "convinced," as the Preamble to the Ordinance of Incorporation declared, "of the support which the finances of The United States would receive from the establishment of a national bank."

Wilson met the situation without evasion. He conceded that there was no express delegation of power to sustain the Act, but he denied that the power was one of those reserved by the Second Article to the States. Herein lies the boldness and the originality of his conception. He divined the thought, now so familiar to us, that the government, resulting from the union of several governments separately incompetent, possessed inherent sovereignty over matters of general concern. He clearly saw that a government of limited powers, but entrusted with the accomplishment of certain objects beyond the reach of the confederating states, was as to *those objects* inherently supreme. He argued that none of the States previous to the Confederation could have chartered a bank for North America—"in other words, commensurate to the United States." No State could pretend to exercise any power or act of sovereignty over all the other States or any of them. Hence the incorporation of the Bank by Congress did not rest on any power, which, under the Articles of Confederation could have been or must

have been expressly delegated. But though Congress derived from the particular States no power, jurisdiction or right which was not expressly delegated, it did not follow that the United States had no other powers than those expressly delegated. "The United States had general rights, powers and obligations, not derived from any particular States, nor from all the particular States, taken separately, but resulting from the union of the whole," and therefore it had been provided by the Fifth Article of the Confederation "that for the more convenient management of the *general interests* of the United States delegates shall be annually appointed to meet in Congress * * * For many purposes the United States must be considered as one undivided, independent nation, and as possessed of all the rights, powers and properties by the law of nations incident to such." Now mark these words: "Whenever an object occurs, to the direction of which no particular State is competent, the management of it must, of necessity belong to the United States in Congress assembled. There are many objects of this extended nature." He cited the purchase, sale, defense and the government of lands not within any State as covered by the Resolution that the western territory should be divided into distinct States. An institution for circulating paper and establishing its credit over the whole United States was of the same general character. The Act of Independence, made for the general interest, and before the Articles of Confederation, was of the same character. The Confederation was not intended to weaken or abridge the rights of the United States. It was not intended to transfer general sovereignty to particular States or to any of them. The sovereign powers resulting from the Union were vested in and had been exercised by Congress before the Confederation, and remained vested. "The Confederation clothed the United States with many, though, perhaps not with sufficient

powers; *but of none did it disrobe them.* * * * Rights may be vested in a political body, which did not previously reside in any or all the members of that body, derived solely from the union of those members."

I need not pursue the matter. The outline given indicates the vast scope of his thoughts. It is not too much to say that in Wilson's reasoning is to be found the marrow of all subsequent arguments in favor of the incidental and implied powers of the present Federal government. He anticipated in substance the reasoning of Marshall in Cohens vs. The State of Virginia, 6 Wheaton, 381, and pointed out the basis on which rest so many of the subsequent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States to the effect that where the object sought to be accomplished is national in its character, the government of the United States has the power to use any means to accomplish that object not expressly prohibited. In short, Wilson, in 1785, had sounded the keynote of National Sovereignty.

In support of his second point that it would not be politic for Pennsylvania to revoke the State charter, he urged, first, that the proceeding would be nugatory, because the recall of the State charter could not repeal that of the United States, and, second, because though the legislature might destroy the legislative *operation,* yet it could not undo the legislative *acknowledgment* of its own act. The act formed a *charter of compact* between the legislature and the bank. This he proceeded to sustain by a demonstration almost identical with the reasoning of Marshall in Fletcher v. Peck, 6 Cranch, 87, and in the Dartmouth College case, 4 Wh. 518.

Two years later, we find Wilson, as one of the Framers of the Constitution of the United States, contending on all points that a National government was preferable to one purely federative, and that it did not involve the destruction of the individuality and sovereignty of the States. In matters of national concern

there had to be national supremacy. Of necessity there must exist in every government a power from which there was no appeal, and which for that reason, might be termed supreme, absolute and uncontrollable. Where did the power reside? In Britain, in the Parliament, but the British Constitution was just what the British Parliament pleased. "To control the power and conduct of the legislature by an overruling Constitution was an improvement in the science and practice of government reserved to the American States." The underlying principle, however, was that the supreme power resided in the people and they never parted with it. "If the error be in the legislature, it may be corrected by the constitution; if in the constitution, it may be corrected by the people. There is a remedy, therefore, for every distemper in government, if the People are not wanting to themselves. * * * * If we take an extended and accurate view of it, we shall find the streams of power running in different directions, in different dimensions, and at different heights, watering, adorning and fertilizing the fields and meadows, through which their courses are led; but if we trace them, we shall discover, that they all originally flow from one abundant fountain. In this constitution, all authority is derived from *The People.*"

Such were the political creed and its expression of James Wilson.

I now turn to James Iredell. On the 26th of August, 1787, while the Federal Convention was still sitting in Philadelphia behind closed doors, and its work and the views of members were still unknown to the public, Iredell, writing to Richard Dobbs Spaight concerning the decision of the lower court in the famous case of Bayard vs. Singleton (1 Martin, 42) used this remarkable language. "In regard to the late decision at Newbern, I confess it has ever been my opinion, that an act inconsistent with the Constitution was void; and that

the judges, consistently with their duties, could not carry it into effect. The Constitution appears to me to be a fundamental law, limiting the powers of the legislature, and with which every exercise of those powers must, necessarily be compared. * * * * The Constitution, therefore, *being a fundamental* law, and a law *in writing* of the solemn nature I have mentioned (which is the light in which it strikes me), the judicial power, in the exercise of their authority, must take notice of it as the ground work of that as well as of all other authority; and as no article of the Constitution can be repealed by a legislature, which derives its whole power from it, it follows that the *fundamental unrepealable law* must be obeyed, by the rejection of an act unwarranted by and inconsistent with it, or you must obey an act founded on an authority not given by the people, and to which, therefore, the people owe no obedience. It is not that the judges are appointed arbiters, and to determine as it were upon any application, whether the Assembly have or have not violated the Constitution; but when an act is necessarily brought in judgment before them, they must unavoidably determine one way or another. If it is doubted whether a subsequent law repeals a former one, in a case judicially in question, the judges must decide this; and yet it might be said, if the legislature meant it a repeal, and the judges determined it otherwise, they exercised a *negative* on the legislature in resolving to keep a law in force which the Assembly had annihilated. This kind of objection, if applicable at all, will reach all judicial power whatever, since upon every abuse of it (and there is no power but what is liable to abuse) a similar inference may be drawn; but *when you once establish the necessary existence of any power,* the argument as to abuse ceases to destroy its validity, though in a doubtful matter it may be of great weight."

Thus did the great North Carolinian fourteen years

before the case of Marbury vs. Madison (1 Cranch, 137) proclaim doctrines which have made Marshall famous. Critics of language and of legal logic may well hesitate before awarding primacy to either, but none can deny Iredell's claim to priority of statement. I would not have it thought that the doctrine was novel. George Wythe of Virginia had announced it in Commonwealth vs. Caton, (4 Call, Va. 5-21) in 1782, so too did David Brearley of New Jersey in 1784, in the case of Holmes vs. Walton (referred to in State vs. Parkhurst, 4 Halstead (N. J.), 444, Appendix) and James M. Varnum of Rhode Island in 1786 in the case of Trevitt vs. Weeden, all of which preceded the case of Bayard vs. Singleton. But the significance of Iredell's masterly presentation of his views is that the letter which I have quoted was in answer to a complaint of Spaight that the decisions of the judges were "an assumption of authority," and that "the State instead of being governed by the representatives in General Assembly would be subject to the will of three individuals who united in their own persons the legislative and judiciary powers, which no monarch in Europe enjoyed and which would be more despotic than the Roman Decemvirate, and equally as insufferable." In 1792 in the case of Bowman vs. Middleton (1 Bay 252) the Supreme Court of South Carolina held an act of a Colonial legislature passed in 1712, as *ipso facto* void because in contravention of Magna Charta. In view of this striking list of cases from New England to the Carolinas, all prior to Marbury vs. Madison, the well informed student of our legal development may well smile at charges against John Marshall of indulgence in novelty of doctrine or usurpation of power.

In 1788, Iredell, over the signature of Marcus, published a pamphlet entitled "Answers to Mr. Mason's objections to the New Constitution Recommended by the Late Convention at Philadelphia." Of this paper

it has been said, "the author was immediately recognized by his vigor, as a giant by the imprint of his foot." There were eleven objections and as many specific answers all closely reasoned. I shall present but one—the fourth—as a sample of Iredell's method. "Mr. Mason has asserted, 'that the judiciary of the United States is so constructed and extended, as to absorb and destroy the judiciaries of the several States.' How is this the case? Are not the State judiciaries left uncontrolled as to the affairs of that *State* only? In this as in all other cases, where there is a wise distribution, power is commensurate to its object. With the mere internal concerns of a State Congress we are to have nothing to do. In no case but where the union is in some measure concerned, are the Federal courts to have jurisdiction. The State judiciary will be a satellite waiting upon its proper planet: That of the Union, like the sun, cherishing and preserving a whole planetary system. * * * * Will not every man see how irrational it is to expect that any government can exist which is to be fettered in its most necessary operations for fear of abuse?"

During July of 1788, the State Convention, consisting of 280 members, met at Hillsborough, N. C., to consider the adoption or rejection of the Federal Constitution. The President was Samuel Johnston, then Governor of the State, the preceptor and the father-in-law of Iredell. He was a Federalist, and the leaders in debate upon the floor were Iredell, Davie, Spaight, Maclaine and Steele. Against them was arrayed the most influential politician in the State. Wilie Jones, a democrat in theory, an aristocrat in habit, living sumptuously and clad in fine linen, but stealing his way into the hearts of farmers by smoking with them and chatting of crops, ploughs and cattle. With him were Caldwell, a divine, who dwelt in the mountains, and, though a man of the closet, ruled the views of his people through his char-

itable ministrations, and Judge Spencer of "a candid and temperate disposition," and Timothy Bloodworthy, "smith, farmer, doctor, watchmaker, wheelwright and politician." Jones sought to cut off debate at the outset by moving that the question upon the Constitution should be put "as every man's mind was made up." This was promptly and successfully opposed by Iredell. Then Caldwell submitted abstract propositions, the absurdity and impracticability of some of which were exposed by Iredell, and the debate was on. We are told by the biographer of Davie that Iredell was "the leading spirit in the whole body, conspicuous for his graceful elocution, for the apt application of his varied learning, his intimate knowledge of the working of schemes of government, and his manly and generous temper." The record shows that the burden of argument in favor of the Constitution fell upon Iredell, who spoke more frequently and at greater length than any other on the floor. His brother wrote him: "I wish you could communicate your talent to me: There is no waste of language in your speeches. You say more in five words than is commonly expressed in fifty." But Jones held his forces too well in hand to be beaten. The Convention determined neither to ratify nor to reject, but to recommend a declaration of Rights and twenty-six amendments, which in the main were similar to those suggested in Virginia, and to await the action of the other hesitating States. It was not until after the Federal Government had been actually organized in March of 1789, and then through a second Convention in November of that year that North Carolina entered the Union. Among all the men of his State Iredell stood forth as the most conspicuous champion of the Constitution, like a Roman propugnator in the thick of the fray.

It is a most impressive circumstance that the two men whose characters and careers I have but sketched,

both of them of foreign birth, but nurtured from early manhood under American colonial conditions and tested by the fires of the Revolution, after displaying a remarkable similarity of thought and action, should approach each other on converging lines of public duty and finally find themselves, during the last eight years of lives all too brief, associated as colleagues in the final interpretation of the great organic instrument which one had helped to frame and the other to advocate. It is a no less impressive circumstance that in the first and only intellectual battle between them they should differ radically, a striking illustration of the freedom of thought fostered by our institutions. It is far more impressive still that such was the strength and originality of their conflicting views that each has been since regarded as the founder of a distinct school of Constitutional interpretation. The happy consequence has been that each school moderated the excesses of the other, and just as in celestial mechanics the elliptical pathways of the planets resulted from the conflict between centripetal and centrifugal forces, so in the domain of constitutional jurisprudence the rounded harmony of our system is the direct though unforeseen resultant of the disagreement between Wilson and Iredell in Chisholm's Executor vs. Georgia (2 Dallas 419).

Before considering the renowned case which I have just named, let me pause to analyze the conditions which made such disagreement inevitable. The men differed in natural temperament. Wilson was of a sanguine, speculative, philosophic bent, with many of the qualities of a Locke or a Montesquieu. Iredell was of a colder, less imaginative type, practical and business like. Wilson had been classically educated at the Scotch Universities, and had made himself familiar with Greek and Latin literatures, and the works of the great historians, and publicists. Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Tactitus, Livy, Clarendon, Grotius, Puf-

fendorf, Vattel and Burlamaqui were among his favorite authors. Iredell had never been to an university, was largely self taught and preferred to dip into Coke-Littleton or Sellon's Practice and had saturated himself with Blackstone. He was ten years younger than Wilson and had not acquired his breadth of view. But behind differences of temperament and education was the more important matter of contact with men. Wilson had spent a few months in New York before coming to Philadelphia, and before settling down to practice in the Colonial capital, had practiced law in Reading and Carlisle in Pennsylvania, and in Annapolis, Maryland. Iredell after reaching Edenton had never strayed. Wilson became a member of the Continental Congress, in close contact with statesmen from all parts of the old Thirteen, was familiar in the most intensive sense with all the weaknesses and defects of the Confederation, and knew, as but comparatively few men knew, the need for a strong National Government. He had never been a judge of local courts, nor an Attorney General, and hence, while looking broadly at public affairs, had never learned the practical difficulties of enforcing remedies, nor addressed himself to purely administrative problems. Iredell had been a Deputy Attorney General, a District Court Judge and finally Attorney General, and necessarily had viewed legal questions arising within his State from the standpoint of their practical enforcement. He had never been a member of Congress, nor was he a member of the Federal Convention. His first field of action on an elevated plateau was when he served in the North Carolina Convention.

It is plain, I think, that Wilson would not have been true to himself had he not maintained the theory of National Sovereignty, and that Iredell could not have been expected to do otherwise than maintain the doctrine of State Rights.

We are now ready to consider and appreciate the

manner in which both men bore themselves in the mighty judicial debate which marked the climax of their life achievements.

In judging of the merits of the respective arguments advanced by Wilson and Iredell in support of their respective contentions we must divest ourselves, if such a thing be possible, of all knowledge of our own concerning the later decisions of the Supreme Court which have settled the method of construction of the Constitution. We must put ourselves in their positions considering a strictly novel question with minds unembarrassed by any previous determination. It is only in this way that we can appreciate the originality, the boldness and the force of each man's view. I shall confine myself to the opinions of these two justices, first because I am not discoursing upon the case at large, and next because in these two opinions is to be found the sharpest contrast of doctrine. In short, it is because of this, that each man has been since regarded as the founder of separate schools of Constitutional thought. I shall begin with Iredell, because as the junior justice he opened the judicial discussion, and his opinion is the first to appear in Dallas's report of the case.

The suit was by Chisholm, Executor of a citizen of South Carolina, and himself a citizen of that State, against the State of Georgia. The cause of action does not appear, but the form was in assumpsit and from the return by the Marshall it appeared that process had been served on the Governor and Attorney General of Georgia. The suit was brought originally in the Supreme Court of the United States, and did not reach there by appeal. Georgia refused to appear. Thereupon the Attorney General of the United States moved "That unless the State of Georgia shall, after reasonable previous notice of this motion, cause an appearance to be entered in behalf of the said State, on the

fourth day of the next term, or shall then show cause to the contrary, judgment shall be entered against the said State, and a writ of enquiry of damages shall be awarded." Ingersoll and Dallas of the Philadelphia Bar, the Court then sitting in Philadelphia, presented to the Court a written remonstrance and protestation on behalf of the State, against the exercise of jurisdiction in the cause, but, in consequence of positive instructions, they declined taking any part in arguing the question.

Edmund Randolph, the Attorney General, who had been Governor of Virginia, and who had taken the initiative in the Federal Convention by presenting what is historically known as the Virginia Plan, then proceeded to discuss the motion under four forms, which it seems had been arranged "at the pleasure of the court:" 1st, Could the State be made a defendant *in any case* in the Supreme Court at the suit of a private citizen of another State? 2nd, If so, would *assumpsit* lie? 3rd, Was the service made a competent service? 4th, By what process ought the appearance of the State to be enforced?

Iredell and Wilson considered but the first two points.

Iredell called it a "great cause," and began, as might be expected from his exact training and experience as a pleader, with a precise statement of the issue. "The action," said he, "is an action of assumpsit. The particular question then before the Court is, will an action of *assumpsit* lie against a State?" In abstracting this particular question from the general one, whether a State can in any instance be sued, you will observe that Iredell considered the second proposition of primary importance. In this circumstance alone we have the clearest revelation of the quality of Iredell's mind. Trained as a deputy Attorney General, and by subsequent experience as Attorney General, and accustomed as a district judge to view process critically, he men-

tally inquired: "What is the form of action? Is the form of action sustainable? Is the process usual and regular? Does it raise the main question? If it does not, clearly it would be premature to pass on the deeper question of power, and extra judicial to express sentiments not necessarily involved. Although these features are not expressed in terms, I think that every exact lawyer will agree with me that they are discoverable in Iredell's method of dealing with the case, and exhibit in the clearest light the eminently judicial qualities of his mind. It was the record he looked at, and it was the record that bounded his vision. "Will an action of *assumpsit* lie against a State? If it will, it must be in virtue of the Constitution of the United States, and of some law of Congress conformable thereto." There you have, in Iredell's own words, the crux of his opinion. The answer justifying the form of process resorted to must be found in the Constitution *and* in an Act of Congress. He reviewed the entire judiciary Article of the Constitution, and pointed out that it provided, inter alia, for original jurisdiction in the Supreme Court in "controversies between a State and citizens of another State." He then turned to the 13th Section of the general judicial Act of 24th September, 1789, entitled An Act to establish the Judicial Courts of the United States, which provided "That the Supreme Court shall have exclusive jurisdiction of all controversies of a civil nature where a State is a party, except between a State and its citizens: and except also between a State and citizens of other States." The Constitution was particular in expressing the parties who might be the objects of the jurisdiction, but, in respect to the subject matter, used the word "controversies" only. The Act of Congress qualified the word "controversies" by the word "civil," a well warranted qualification, for it could not be presumed by any reasonable man that the general word "controver-

sies" as used in the Constitution was intended to include criminal cases, which in all instances respecting a State were uniformly of a local nature and to be decided by State law. "What controversy of a civil nature could an individual maintain against a State? The framers must have meant one of two things: Either, 1st in the conveyance of that part of the judicial power which did not relate to the execution of the other authorities of the general government (which within the restrictions of the Constituion were full and discretionary) to refer to antecedent laws for the construction of the general words used; or, 2nd to enable Congress in all such cases to pass all such laws as they might deem necessary and proper to carry the purposes of the Constitution into effect, either absolutely at their discretion, or at least in cases where the prior laws were deficient, if any such deficiency existed." He scouted as novel and untenable the argument of the Attorney General in these words: "His construction I take to be this: 'That the moment a Supreme Court is formed, it is to exercise all the judicial power vested in it by the Constitution, by its own authority, whether the Legislature has prescribed methods of doing so, or not.' My conception of the Constitution is entirely different. I conceive that all the Courts of the United States must receive, not merely their organization as to the number of Judges of which they are to consist, but all their authority, as to the manner of their proceeding, from the Legislature only. * * * Having a right thus to establish this Court, and it being capable of being established in no other manner, I conceive it necessarily follows, that they are also to direct the manner of its proceedings * * * Subject to the Constitution, the whole business of organizing the Courts, and directing the methods of their proceedings where necessary, I conceive to be in the discretion of Congress. If it shall be found on this occasion, or on any

other, that the remedies now in being are defective, for any purpose it is their duty to provide for, they no doubt will provide others. It is their duty to *legislate* so far as is necessary to carry the Constitution into effect. It is *ours* only to *judge*. We have no reason, nor any more right to distrust their doing their duty, than they have to distrust that we all do ours. There is no part of the Constitution, that I know of, that authorizes this Court to take up any business where they left it, and, in order that the powers given in the Constitution may be in full activity, supply their omission by making *new laws* for *new cases;* or, which I take to be the same thing, applying *old principles to new Cases* materially different from those to which they were applied before. * * * If therefore this Court is to be (as I consider it) the organ of the *Constitution and the law,* not of the *Constitution only,* in respect to the manner of its proceeding, we must receive our directions from the Legislature in this particular, and have no right to constitute ourselves an *Officina brevium,* or take any other short method of doing what the Constitution has chosen (and, in my opinion, with the most perfect propriety) should be done in another manner."

He then referred to the 14th Section of the Judicial Act, and, after enumerating the special writs there mentioned such as *scire facias, habeas corpus* and "all other writs not specially provided for by statute which may be necessary for the exercise of their respective jurisdictions," pointed out that these according to the express terms of the statute must be "agreeable to the principles and usages of law." He then proceeded, in a most exhaustive discussion of English cases, covering page after page, to demonstrate that the remedy against the Crown was not by way of assumpsit but by petition. He refused to recognize the analogy of suits against corporations to suits

against a State. Corporations were creatures, States were sovereigns. They did not owe their origin to the government of the United States. They were in existence before it, and derived their authority from "the same pure and sacred source as itself; the voluntary and deliberate choice of the people." The distinctions between corporations and a State were so palpable that he could never admit that a system of law calculated for one class of cases was to be applied, *as a matter of course,* to the other without admitting, as he conceived, that the distinct boundaries of law and Legislation would be confounded "in a manner that would make courts arbitrary, and in effect makers of a new law, instead of being (as certainly alone they ought to be) *expositors* of an existing *one.*"

In conclusion, he said: "I have now, I think, established the following particulars:—1st, That the Constitution, so far as it respects the judicial authority, can only be carried into effect by acts of the Legislature appointing Courts and prescribing their methods of proceeding. 2nd, That Congress has provided no new law in regard to this case, but expressly referred us to the old. 3rd, That there are no principles of the old law, to which we must have recourse, that in any manner authorize the present suit, either by precedent or by analogy. The consequence of which, in my opinion, clearly is that the suit in question cannot be maintained, nor, of course, the motion made upon it be complied with."

Wilson's point of view was diametrically opposite. Instead of first looking at the record, he looked first at the Constitution. He saw a vision of the Nation that was to be, his mind quivering with ecstasy as he looked. He divined the future, while reflecting on the past, and rose to heights of judicial inspiration. He saw a strong principle at work destroying technical difficulties as acid eats into metal. As Copernicus tore himself away

from Ptolemaic doctrines and established the heliocentric theory, so Wilson announced the basic principles of National Sovereignty.

His opening words are these: "This is a case of uncommon magnitude. One of the parties to it is a State: certainly respectable, claiming to be *sovereign.* The question to be determined is, whether this State, so respectable and whose claim soars so high, is amenable to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the *United States.* This question, important in itself, will depend on others, more important still; and may, perhaps, be ultimately resolved into one, no less *radical* than this —'do the *People* of the *United States* form a nation?' "

He examined it first by the principles of general jurisprudence. He inquired into the meaning of the word Sovereign. "To the Constitution of the *United States* the term *sovereign* is totally unknown. There is but one place where it could have been used with propriety. But even in that place it would not, perhaps, have comported with the delicacy of those who *ordained* and *established* that Constitution. They *might* have announced themselves 'Sovereign' People of the *United States:* But serenely conscious of the *fact,* they avoided the *ostentatious declaration.*" * * * * "In one sense the word *sovereign* had for its correlative, *subject.* In this sense the term can receive no application, for it has no object in the Constitution of the *United States.* Under that Constitution there are *citizens* but no *subjects.* 'Citizen of the United States.' 'Citizen of another State.' Citizens of different States.' 'A State or citizens thereof.' The term *subject* occurs, indeed once in the instrument, but to mark the contrast strongly, the epithet 'foreign' is prefixed."

He then examined the meaning of the word State. In his view it meant "a complete body of free persons united together for their common benefit, to enjoy peaceably what is their own, and to do justice to others.

It is an *artificial* body. It has its affairs and its interests. It has its rules; it has its rights, and it has its obligations. It may acquire property distinct from its members. It may incur debts to be discharged out of the public stock, not out of the private fortunes of individuals. It may be bound by contracts and for damages arising from the breach of those contracts. * * * * If justice is not done; if engagements are not fulfilled, is it upon general principles of right, no less proper, in the case of a great number, than in the case of an individual, to secure, by compulsion, that which will not be voluntarily performed? Less proper it surely cannot be. The only reason, I believe, why a free man is bound by human laws is *that he binds himself*. Upon the same principles, upon which he becomes bound by the *laws,* he becomes amenable to the courts of justice which are formed and authorized by those laws. If one free man, an original sovereign, may do all this, why may not an aggregate of free men, a collection of original sovereigns do likewise? If the dignity of each *singly* is undiminished, the dignity of all jointly must be unimpaired. A State, like a merchant, makes a contract. A dishonest State, like a dishonest merchant, wilfully refuses to discharge it: the latter is amenable to a court of justice: upon general principles of right, shall the former when summoned to answer the fair demands of its creditor, be permitted, proteus-like, to assume a new appearance, and to insult him and justice, by declaring *I am a sovereign State?* Surely not."

He then drew together the branches of the argument by this bold and striking declaration. Each word is fraught with meaning, and contains a pregnant thought: "As a Judge of this Court, I know, and can decide upon the knowledge that the citizens of Georgia when they acted upon the large scale of the *Union,* as a part of "The People of the United States" did not

surrender the Supreme or Sovereign Power to that State, but, as *to the purposes of the Union,* retained it to themselves; *as to the purposes of the Union,* therefore, Georgia is Not a *Sovereign State.* If the judicial decision of this case forms *one* of those purposes, the *allegation* that Georgia is a sovereign State is unsupported by the fact."

Those sentences contain the crux of Wilson's opinion. If I may be pardoned for introducing a medical term into a legal paper, I would say that they constitute the *foetus* of the National doctrine.

He then examined the question by the laws and practice of different States and Kingdoms, displaying a wide range of reading, and, in reviewing English authorities, cited the Mirror of Justices and Bracton to the effect that in receiving justice the King should be placed on a level with the meanest person in the Kingdom. "True it is," he admitted, "that now in England the King must be sued in his courts by Petition; but even now the difference is only in the *form,* not in the *thing.* The judgments or decrees of those courts will substantially be the same upon a *precatory* as upon a *mandatory* process."

He then asked: Could the Constitution of the United States vest a jurisdiction over the State of Georgia? By slow degrees and many historical examples he worked his way to the final thought that as the Constitution was the result of the united wills of all the people of the United States, including the people of Georgia, it was competent for a United People, distinct from the individual aggregations of people constituting separate states, to bind itself by the terms of its constitution which was the product of the union, and to exact obedience to national mandates even from the States themselves. The Constitution was framed not for the States, nor by the States, but for the Nation and by the People of the Nation. I am not using his

words, but I have, I think, summarized accurately his contention. He pointed out that in England the body politic was Parliament. The People were nowhere. The King, the Lords and the Commons together formed the corporation or body politic of the Kingdom. In the United States it was the people who spoke the Government into existence. The truth was often lost sight of by the exaltation of the States. "The *States,* rather than the people, for whose sake the States exist, are frequently the objects which attract attention." The inaccuracy of political conception was fostered by inaccuracy of common speech. "Is a toast asked? 'The United States,' instead of 'The People of the United States' is given. This is not *politically* correct. The toast is meant to present to view the *first* great object in the Union. It presents only the second. It presents only the artificial person, instead of the *natural* persons who spoke it into existence." When Homer enumerated the other nations of Greece whose forces acted at the siege of Troy, he arranged them under the names of their Kings, but when he came to the Athenians he called them the People of Athens. Demosthenes always addressed his countrymen as "Oh, Men of Athens." "With the strictest propriety, therefore, classical and political," Wilson declared "our national scene opens with the most magnificent object which the nation could present. 'The People of the United States' are the first personages introduced. Who were those people? They were the citizens of the United States each of which had a separate constitution and government and all of which were connected together by Articles of Confederation. To the purposes of public strength and felicity, that Confederacy was totally inadequate. A requisition on the Several States terminated its legislative authority; Executive and Judicial Authority it had none. In order, therefore, to form a more perfect union, to *establish justice,*

ensure domestic tranquillity, to provide for the common defence, and to secure the blessings of liberty, *those people,* among whom were the people of Georgia, ordained and established the present Constitution. By that Constitution legislative power is vested, Executive power is vested, judicial power is vested. The question now, opens fairly to our view. Could the people of those States, among whom were those of Georgia, bind those States and Georgia among the others by the legislative, executive and judicial power so vested? If the principles on which I have founded myself are just, this question must unavoidably receive an affirmative answer. If those States were the *work* of those *people;* those people, and, that I may apply the case closely, the people of Georgia in particular, could alter as they pleased their former work. To any given degree, they could diminish as well as enlarge it. Any or all of the former States powers, they could *extinguish* or *transfer.*" The inference was plain that those people, inclusive of the people of Georgia *could vest* jurisdiction or judicial power over those States and over the State of Georgia in particular.

Had they done so? Did "those people" mean to exercise their undoubted power? Did "those people" intend to bind "those States" by the Legislative power vested by the Constitution? Surely it could not be contended that the Legislative power of Congress was meant to have *no* operation on the States. Did the people of the United States intend to bind the Several States by the Executive power of the national government? The answer must be in the affirmative. Ever since Bracton's day it had been a maxim that "*it would be superfluous to make laws, unless those laws, when made, were to be enforced.*" When the application of them was doubtful or intricate, judicial authority was necessary. One of the declared objects of the Constitution was to establish justice. Whoever considered "in

a combined and comprehensive sense the *general texture* of the Constitution," must be satisfied that the People of the United States intended to form themselves into a nation for national purposes. "They instituted for *such* purposes a national government, complete in all its parts, with powers Legislative, Executive and Judiciary, and in all those powers extending over the whole nation." It would be indeed incongruous that with regard to such purposes, any man, or body of men, any person natural or artificial should be permitted to claim successfully an entire exemption from the jurisdiction of the national government. Such a claim, crowned with success, would be repugnant to our very existence as a Nation. All trains of deduction converged and united upon this point.

Finally, the express language of the Constitution put the matter beyond all doubt. "The judicial power of the United States shall extend to controversies between two States." Clearly one of the States must be a defendant. "The judicial power of the United States shall extend to controversies between a State and citizens of another State." Could legal language be clearer, could all the niceties of the strictest pleading describe with more precise accuracy the cause now depending? "*Causes,* and not parties to causes are weighed by justice, in her equal scales: On the former solely, her attention is fixed: To the latter, she *is,* as she is painted, *blind.*" Tried by all the touchstones of general jurisprudence, by the laws and practices of States and Kingdoms, and by the Constitution of the United States, from all combined, the inference was that the action would lie.

Chief Justice Jay, and Justices Blair and Cushing, in separate opinions, concurred in this.

I confess that I do not know where to find throughout the whole mass of judicial utterances since that August term, 1792, more impressive presentations of

a fundamental question from opposite points of view than those of Wilson and Iredell. But when I consider that they are the first to be encountered in the books, and are the products of minds working without the assistance of prior adjudications, I regard them with admiration. Yet while in seeming opposition, they are not in antagonism. Nowhere does Iredell confute or attempt to challenge Wilson's majestic reasoning. Nowhere does Wilson pause to notice Iredell's contention that the powers of the Constitution relating to the Judiciary can become effective only through an Act of Congress. The result has been, happily for ourselves, that both doctrines have stood. Wilson's theory and its propulsive force have supplied the necessary stimulus and energy to Congressional action. Iredell's protest against spontaneous constitutional self enforcement has protected us against excessive or capricious exercises of judicial power. Wilson's opinion is in itself a constitutional dynamo: Iredell's a constitutional regulator, without which the engine would have thrashed itself to pieces.

The case of Chisholm, Executor, vs. The State of Georgia and the opinions of the Judges are not as well known and not as frequently read as they deserve to be. This is largely due to the fact that two days after the decision was pronounced, such was the anti-federal fury, the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution was proposed to Congress and formally acted upon in December, 1793. It was not declared adopted by the several States until January, 1798. In the meantime the Court refused to bend, and after a year rendered judgment by default and ordered an inquiry of damages. The plaintiff, however, confronted by a Statute of Georgia denouncing the penalty of death against any one who presumed to enforce any process, prudently awaited action on the proposed amendment. In February, 1798, the case of Hollingsworth vs. Virginia (3

Dallas 378) being before the Court, it was declared that, in view of the amendment, jurisdiction was renounced "in any case past or future, in which a State was sued by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State." Hence interest in the case as a precedent slept until awakened in the Virginia Coupon Cases, (114 U. S. 270) and Hans vs. Louisiana, (134 U. S. 1) in 1889. In the last named case the whole subject of the suability of a State is fully discussed by Mr. Justice Bradley.

The value of the utterances of Wilson and Iredell can never be lost. They form a part not only of the pattern but of the texture of our national jurisprudence. They struck as by intuition, directly on the results of reasoning which is still considered sound. Time, which gnaws and diminishes many reputations, has left theirs untouched.

In the quiet burying ground of the Johnston family at Edenton, on the 20th of November, 1906, a cenotaph to the memory of James Wilson was dedicated in the presence of the Governor and Chief Justice of North Carolina and the Governor of Pennsylvania. It stands but a few feet away from the grave of Iredell. Though Pennsylvania claimed and now guards the ashes of her son, the memory of the close association of these two useful and productive lives is preserved in North Carolina.

THOMAS RODNEY.

BY SIMON GRATZ, ESQ.

(Continued from Vol. XLIV, page 308.)

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. May 25th 1807.

My dear Son

This Morning the Governor waited on me and Shewed me a Summons, for Mr. Mead, Mr. Poindexter, Mr. Shields and myself Also for Col. Fitzpatrick to Attend the Circuit Court in Virginia in the Case of Mr. Burr on the 22d of this Month which day was past before the Summons arrived here—whether the Cause will be delaid or not till the Fall Circuit and our attenddance then be required or not cannot now be told by us but I think the Governor said you Expressed a wish that we might acknowledge the Summons and say whether we can attend or not or at what time or something of that purpose—If the Cause should be put off till the fall Circuit, or to some time when a Special Court may be ordered, and the Government think our Attendance Essential I suppose we must Attend—but my Absence Cannot well be dispensed with here for some time yet, tho Judge Leck arrived here to day and will take his Seat on the bench tomorrow, as our Supreme Court Commenced today. This is the Court Blennerhassett, Floyd, Ralston and Tyler were bound to appear at and are all here to take their trials, but the Attv. General Mr. Lewes has sugested to the Court, that he is of Opinion that the Circuit Courts here and not the Supreme Court have jurisdiction in Federal Cases; and he has desired to be heard on that Subject

tomorrow and the Mail will go before any Decision can take place—The Supreme Court has hitherto Assumed and Exercised the jurisdiction under the Act of Congress Vesting the powers of a District and Circuit Court, in some Court or Courts of this territory—And the Government seems to have favored this by referring Federal business in Several Instances to the Supreme Court but the Att^{y}. General being of a Different opinion procured Ralston & Floyd to be Indicted at the Wilkinson Circuit—Yet at the Circuit the Grand Jury Could only Enquire for the County in which they sat and not for the territory—Whereas the Jury Summoned to attend the Supreme Court are from all the four Counties on the Misisipi, twelve Jurors being ordered from Each County and the rest generally—from them the Grand Jury are drawn and of Course Enquire for the whole territory as forming one District—Yet the late & Present Att^{y}. Gen^{l}. say that the Federal power granted by the act of Congress, Vested in the then Ixisting Superior Courts of this territory and that by an Act of Assembly passed soon after the powers of the then Superior Courts were transferred to the Present Circuit Courts, and that the Federal powers Could not Vest in the Supreme Court which did not Ixist till Established by the Same Act which transferred the powers from the Superior Courts to the Circuit Courts as afs^{d}.—But the Judges Concluded that Congress Intended to vest the powers granted in the highest Court of Law in the territory—and therefore assumed those powers in the Supreme Court the highest Court of Law and the only one which had general Jurisdiction—This difficulty however renders it uncertain what will be done with the Burrites before mentioned but I rather suppose Blennerhassett and Tyler may be sent to Virginia, and governor Harrison has written very favorably of Floyd—and he perhaps may be sent to Kentucky—I shall be loth not to Comply

with what the Government may think necessary but it will be a great disadvantage to leave here Immediately without settling my accounts and disposing of my property, for I could hardly think of returning here again—

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. June 14th 1807.

My dear Son

The Supreme Court has been Sitting here three weeks and adjourned yesterday—I was absent the last week because were Completing the Sessions of the Board of Commissioners, which we Closed yesterday and have nothing more to do but report &c

Ralston and Floyd were Indicted at the Circuit Court of Wilkinson County, their Counsel Plead to the Jurisdiction of that Court and avered that the Supreme Court had Jurisdiction in Federal Cases—The Attᵞ. Genˡ. Lewis Demurred to that Plea and on this Issue of war joined The question was referred to the Decision of the Supreme Court—and was argued in the Second week of the Court by the Atty. Genˡ. on our Side, and by, Fielding, Turner, Mʳ. Teyler and Mʳ. Knox on the other (Harding who had filed the Plea was unwell and could not Attend) The Court took time to Consider and Delivered their opinion on Munday of the last week —Bruin and Leck were in favor of the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court, but my opinion was in favor of the Supreme Court—Thus the Majority of the Court gave the jurisdiction to the Circuit Courts. After Delivering in my Opinion I retired from the Court to the Board —Ralston and Floyd after this were put to answer at the Circuit Court, and Blennerhassett & Tyler were Discharged and also the witnesses from their Recognizances taken for their appearance at the Supreme Court &c.—Mʳ. Blennerhassett Immediately went off to

his former residence in Virginia. While the Supreme Court Exercised Jurisdiction in Federal Cases their officers were obliged to act, and it necessary for them to know whether they will not have a right to Claim the Fees &c. allowed by Law to the Clerks and Marshals of the Federal Courts—The Sheriff in particular who acted as Marshal was at Considerable Expense as well as trouble—I wish you to Consider the Law and Consult the Sect^{y}. of the Treasury on this Subject—

Some of my friends abroad I find have been a little alarmed about the Lying publication of *Ashley* in one of the Carolina papers—*Ashley* is known here to be one of the greatest Villians in the Country, and therefore was fitly selected by M^{r}. Burr to answer his nefarious purposes—But who Could believe me guilty of altering a Recognizance? Burr and his surities were obliged to Recognize on such Conditions as I prescribed or he must have been Committeed—What Inducement then Could I possibly have to alter the Recognizance?—The thing is so absurd that no one Can believe it—The Charge is absolutely false. No Motive whatever however powerful Could Induce me as a Magistrate to Deviate from the path of rectitude.

The Summons for Witnesses here to attend Burrs trial in Virginia Came too late and the Witnesses wait to hear whether the trial will be put off or not—I continue in good health and feel releaved from a great burthen by the Closing the Decisions of the Board, my duties in future Will not be so laborious—we have been allowed only $500, dol^{s}. Each for the last 18, Months labor at the Board, Certain the Legislature ought to make a further allowance—They Can hardly think $500, adequate Compensation for 18 months public services in this part of the Country—I expect you will have your family at the Federal City by the time this arrives—Give my love to Susan and the Children—

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town Washington June 22d. 1807.

My dear Son

I wrote to you by the last Mail and did not know then that Floyd & Ralston were Discharged, which was done after I left the Court and went to the Board—It seems their Counsel Demurred to the Indictment formed in Wilkinson County which Demurrer was sustained and of Cause the Indictment quashed so that no Accusation Remained against them as they had been discharged from their Recognizances in the Supreme Court before on the Motion of the Attorney General Lewes—and also Tyler and Blennerhassett were discharged upon the ground that the Supreme Court had not Jurisdiction in Federal Cases—Thus all that were accused here of being Concerned in Burrs Expedition are now gone—It seems as if no Federal Cases Can be tried here till the United States Establish District Courts of their own, and Certainly It is Material they should do so, or their Authority will have but little Influence in this western Country where Mischief seems most disposed to rear its head.

It is said by some of Burrs friends here that he Expects soon to be liberated and Intends returning Immediately to this western County.

We have Completed the Decisions of the Board and are now making out our Report—Judge Leck and Myself Intend setting off the day after tomorrow to the Walnut hills to view that part of the territory—Where I informed you some time ago I had bought a tract or two of land—We Expect to git fine fish there too—we return next week—all is quiet here now Except the party and political assperity which you will see prevails in the Natchez papers, If they reach you—As I have never Medled in their politics further than to support and defend the Conduct and Carracter of the General

Government, the Local partizans seldom notice me in their Contests, yet do not permit me Entirely to Escape; *Shaw* the Editor of the Messenger undertook of his own accord to defend me against the Calumny of *Ashlay* but could not do it without droping a small spice of his own—I let it pass unnoticed, it being very different from the general Sentiment of the People here, that I probably am Entitled to but little Praise as a Judge—The Contrary of which I have heard Expressed in all parts of the territory more frequently than I could wish. Our public duties require that the Governor and Myself should Act in a Polite and Social Manner—This perhaps may not be altogether Pleasing to some of the party who are abusing him.—If I should not be called round as a witness in the Case of Burr, yet I shall desire to return home to see my friends next fall: and I wish you to mention this to the President as I should not wish to do it without his permission tho' it is uncertain whether I shall incline to return or not till I advise with my old friends. Yet most of my friends here Earnestly solicit my return tho' they wish me to go round on account of the Information which they suppose I may give respecting this Land business &c.

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington June 29th 1807.

My dear Son

The day after the date of my last Letter to wit on Tuesday last I was taken very unwell on Wednesday Evening had as Violent a Bilious attack as Ever I had in my life and a high fever all night two three of the young gentlemen sat up with me all night in the Course of which so much Bile went off that my fever left me next Morning, but my puking and purging Continued Moderately for a day or two all the Gentlemen and Ladies of the town and some from the Country (when

they heard I was Ill) Came to Visit me and offered anything they could do for me, but as I know the Cause of these attacks I let them have their way and only incourage the discharge of Bile I took nothing but a puker and after that a Little sweet oil and Sugar to settle the stomach & render the operation of the Bile in the Bowels more mild. After Thursday I became quite Easy but took nothing to Eat till Saturday when a Small degree of appetite returned & yesterday Sunday I left my room and went down stairs and in the Evening went over to M^{r}. Chews to Marry a Couple—to wit Beverly R. Grayson Esq^{r}. Clerk of the Supreme Court And Auditor of the Territory to M^{rs}. Sarah Frieland sister to M^{r}. Chew and a widow to day I feel quite Restored & Clear of any Complaint—This I trust will be a furlo for the Residue of the Season—Reputable families are flocking to this Country and many of them Incline to settle in this town as a place of health till they git used to the Climate—by being taken Sick I missed my visit to the Walnut hills but Judge Leck, Doct^{r}. Archer and others who were going with me went on.

The Virginia papers Stated that a Grand Jury had been Impannelled and Charged in the Case of Burr, I suppose shall hear by the next Mail whether the trial is over or put off and thereby know whether it will be necessary for the Witnesses called from this territory to attend or not—we have heard by some of the public papers that the Floridas are purchased I wish this may be true tho' I Expect the U. S. will have to pay pretty dear for them—but the possession of them are so necessary to all the back Country on the Eastern Side the Misisipi that its Value will be quarduply increased by having all the outlets to the sea which pass through the Floridas—So that the back Country will populate probably ten times as fast as it otherwise would do—

You will find the Natchez papers (if you have time

to read them) full of scurrility—the Governor in particular is Virulently abused by *Doct*r. *Shaw* the Editor of the Messenger—as I have not Meddled hitherto in the Local politics of this territory, and as I am not the Legal organ of Information, and as the Gen^{l}. Government have never asked my advice in any Case I have not made any political Communication to them but as you have become a member of the Cabinet and may be Called on sometimes respecting the affairs of this territory, for your own satisfaction and Direction I shall in a Subsequent Letter Make such a Communication to you as may Enable you to understand the situation of parties here, and shall give you a Correct view of the Leaders of the* Different parties and their objects &c. &c. Government have probably a pretty full knowledge how parties stood here under Governors Sargent & Claibourne—but they have Varied very much since—If however I shall return this summer or in the fall it will be unnecessary to make any such Communication by Letter.

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Aug^{t}. 13th 1807.

My dear Son

I had prepaired, as I informed you in my last Letter by Mail to go on to Richmond and we were to set off tomorrow But having gone out of town the Evening before last to Marry Judge Matthews of the Orleans territory to a young Lady in our Neighborhood I had to Return in the Night when the air was very damp so that I got cold and Was very unwell yesterday—Yet I had to sit with a smart Fever on in an assembly of the People at this town where the most Respectable People in the territory were assembled to Consider the late

* This was probably stolen—C. A. Rodney.

outrages of the Brittish—and when they adopted unanimously sundry Resolutions Expressive of their minds in respect to those outrages—I feel still unwell today and in Consequence thereof have declined going thinking that I should only risk my life without being able to reach the place of destination in time—this determination is approved by all my friends here and Indeed all the people who have spoke to me on the occasion objected to my going even if well but I was determined to go till I got unwell and the gentlemen of this town for that reason Envited me to a public Dinner with them to-day as a mark of their Respect and regard before my setting off and it was too late to recall this Plan after my declining to go as they had previously prepaired for it—

I was directed by the assembly of the People to send on a Copy of their Resolutions to the President and a nother to the Mayor of Norfolk &c. which will go on by T. H. W. our Register & Secretary—Mead & Shields do not propose going on but Poindexter Dinsmore and others will from the territory—Burr I am told has also summoned a Number of Witnesses from this territory T. H. W. and Doctr. Hall set off tomorrow—This goes by T. H. W. who can inform you more particularly of things here and the Cause of my not Proceeding on with them.

Governor Claiborn is still here but returns in a few days.

God bless you, adieu

Thomas Rodney.

P. S. I have Directed Several Recognizances taken on the Examinations in the Case of Burr to shew that Burrs Recognized is in the usual form observed by me and deviates in Nothing Material Certainly if it had not been so Expressed he could not have left the Court without being Discharged this his Counsel moved to have done but the Court refused it—

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Aug^{t}. 24th. 1807.

My dear Son

As it was Expected I should go on to Richmond I have not recd any Letters lately from any of my Correspondence to the Eastward—I wrote on both by the Mail & Sect^{y}. Williams that I had declined going—and from the unfavorable Effect this Season generally has on me I have reason to conclude I was right in not having made the attempt as with the most discreet Caution in guarding against the hot Sun & night dews & cannot keep quiet well—tho' I have not been laid up—Burr and his friends can say nothing with truth to my prejudice, but whatever they may say I wish you to discharge your duty with dignified and manly firmness without being Influenced one way or a Nother by any thing they Can Say—Gov^{r}. Claiborne waited on me yesterday to take leave—He Intended to set off for Orleans this morning—Probably to prepair the Quota of Troops required of that territory—He thinks Orleans a very Defensible Place ag^{t}. the brittish but as he is not much acquainted with tactics I told him I was Induced, tho I had never seen the City, to think otherwise—as it is accessable on many points and the Ground all Low—that it was probable too that if we had war with G. B. that would be one of the first objects of their attention on account of the Extensive Effect the possession of that City would have on the western Country —The Misisipi being the only out let for all their Produce.

You will see by the Natchez Papers that the public avowal of Sentiments here against the brittish is unanimous, as well as in the States tho' no part of our Country is liable to suffer more by a war with England than this—Cotton being their staple and England almost the only purchaser. But whether the Event be war or not I hope our Government will Continue to act

Decisively and with the Spirit of 1776. Until G. Brittain shall relinquis her Wicked Claim of Pressing seamen from on board Even our Merchant Ships—She has no more Right to take them from them than from one of our seaport towns. If Even a Traitor flies from them to us have they a right to demand him? If they have why did they not give up Arnold? You are in the Cabinet at an Important Period—Proceed firmly and steadily—Let nothing hurry you into Irregularity yet Remember that wisdom in great Affairs admits of no dilatory Pleas she requires Decision

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

T.of Washington M. T. Sept^{r}. 1st. 1807.

My dear Son

It has been more sickly in this town and its neighborhood this Season than I have known it before, owing probably to a severe drouth which has Continued four Months—The ground has not been wet two Inches deep since August—The Crops of Cotton and Cain therefore will be Very Small here—I have been obliged to be very Cautious to keep about by avoiding the Sun in the day & the dews at Night, but Cannot keep quite well for this is the Season of the year that always is most likely to affect me—I had a severe head ache Sunday night but it has got better and by Care I hope I shall avoid being laid up—Poindexter went on a few days after Doct^{r}. Hall—I was to have wrote by him to you having been the Attorney General of the territory he is well acquainted with my usual form of writing Recognizances &^{c}. Gov^{r}. W. Grofases going on to the Seat of Government in December—He and Poindexter as you will see by the Natchez papers differed severely before Poindexter left this—Indeed the governor one Way or an other has offended all the Republican party here, and they treat him with great assperity—The Re-

publicans also displeased at Secr. Meads being Dismissed from office and are determined to Ellect him to the Legislature—The Patriotic ardor of Meads Conduct in the Case of Burr was much approved of here by the Republicans—tho it was a little too high toned and intemperate in some parts, and I fear he shewed too much indiscretion in his Communications to government, tho I had Cautioned him against this advising him to Represent facts only to them and leave them to judge for themselves &c &c &c It ever is Considered Versitile for a government to appoint an officer & suddenly remove without some Evident Cause because either the appointment or the removal is Concluded to be indiscreet—The People Even in a Republican government like to see Stability—It would in deed be well and an Improvement in our System if all Inferior Executive officers were appointed for three Years Removable only for Misbehaviour—The People would approve the Stability which this would give, and the Changes it would admit at the Expiration of that time—and the Executives would be more Careful in their appointments. The present tenure of office during pleasure Induces frequent bad appointments and Captious Removals which have a tendency to disorder Government.

A Son of Col: Charles Pope is here—He was Intimate with Mead in Georgia and Mead Imployed him to write in the Secretaries office till he was removed and now the Poor Fellow has no means of livelihood—If any office such as that of Marshall or Clerkship should occur in this part of the Country It would be well to recommend him—his father was a brave and useful officer & was wounded in the Revolution.

I write these things merely for your own information and as a small guide to yourself in what may respect this part of the Country—

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Sept^{r}. 15th 1807

My dear Son

Since the Cool Weather Commenced about ten days ago I have almost perfectly recovered My health—All is quiet here Except the Political Squabbles which you will see in the Natchez papers Respecting Gov^{r}. W.—Some how or other he has lost the Confidence and Provoked the Resentment of the Republicans without obtaining the Friendship of the Feds further than to Excite and Perpetuate the quarrel with the Republicans &^{c}. Judge Leck wishes to go for his family this Winter which will prevent my Seeing my friends at home till next Summer Expecting me on my way home I have not heard from any of them for more than a month past—But by this time T. H. W. must have arrived at Richmond & Poindexter must be near there who will Disclose the Reason of my not going—after which I shall Expect to hear from—The last Post brought no Eastern Mail so that we have nothing official Respecting the Cession of the Floridas yet, tho it is believed the Cession is made—It was said last Week that Smith was Coming to Deliver himself up but I have not Seen him yet—I hope you have got over the trouble of Moving and got your family settled in the Federal City

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington Oct^{r}. 18th 1807

My dear Son

Since writing my last Letter Several Incidents have Occurred that increases the Unfavorable aspect of affairs in the West—In the Orleans papers by the Former Mail It appears that Judge Lewes of that territory in the Course of Riding the Circuit had his Horse killed, and the People it seems threatend to kill him if

he did not depart which he thought it most prudent to do tho he was the only territorial Judge then in the Territory for Judge Sprig was gone Home and Judge Matthews is still near this town and Very Ill—The Judges there seem to have become Very Unpopular—and the Governor here: In fact great Discontent appears among the People in both A writer in the Telegraph at Orleans Even advises the People to appeal to *Bonaparte* to inforce the Rights and Privileges Reserved to the old Inhabitants in the Cession of Louisiana—and Discontent is increasing rapidly in this Territory arising from Conduct of the Governor If you read the Natchez papers you have seen what abuse and Accusation has turned against him for Some time past He has lately in the Course of a short time Dismissed a number Staunch and popular Republicans from office, & yesterday Col. Claiborne, Major Sessions & Major Carles, the Field Officers of the first Regiment were all turned out of office while holding a Court Marshal in this town—Col: Claiborne and Major Sessions were also Judges of the County Court of Adams and were Dismissed from both their Civil and Military offices These are all respectable and popular men—This affair has Caused great Agitation, and Combined with other things Indicates great Disorder if not Violence among the Community.

The Circuit Court for the County Commenced on Munday last, I attended on that day with Judge Lecke till Juries were Impanelled and left the Court on Tuesday to attend other necessary business—After which Indictments for Libels were found by the Grand Jury against George Poindexter, late Att^{y}. General, Col. Baker, Doct^{r}. Shaw, Editor of the Messenger and William Winston, Past Master at Washing and A. Moorhouse for publications in the Natchez papers Complaint was made also ag^{t}. the Governor & against the Editor of the Herald but no Presentments found—I will in-

close a list of the Grand Jury If I can obtain one in time & M^{r}. Poindexter will know them—and can inform you who are Federal who Republican—Thus you will see the Seeds of discord and disorder thickly strewd in our territory, as well as that of Orleans If the Cabinet read the western papers they cannot avoid noticing these Indications of Trouble in the West and it may Reasonably be apprehended that the Escape of the most Vilianous Traitor and treason that ever was planned or attempted in any Country will have a general tendency to increase the troubles of the West for this Country is strewd with the Minions and Emisaries of the arch Traitor. There is danger that this territory will be Completely Federal in a little time—So many of the Republicans have been Dismissed from office that most of them that yet remain will probably resign. What the Consequence may be is yet uncertain but I hope the Administration will adopt such wise and prudent Measures as will avoid Indangering the loss of a part of our Country which has Cost the Government so much. Nothing less than wise prudent Experienced and Respectable Rulers can aswage the temper and discontent that now prevail—Without this there is reason to apprehend Violent Struggles in the West.

Judge Leck Intending to go for his family after the Fall Courts are over has agreed to attend to the Court & let me Enjoy a little rest for the first time since I have been here—So that I mean to Visit the Walnut hills next week to Settle or dispose of a Tract of Land I have there—You will please to Inform M^{r}. Poindexter that Major Carter informed me yesterday that Major Trask had lost his little Daughter and that the rest of the family were well.

Expecting me home has prevented my receiving any Letters from my friends for a long time—I cannot now Expect the pleasure of Seeing them till next Summer if Judge Leck goes home this fall—Give my love to Susan and the Children—

P. S. A Gentleman lately from Accomack in Virginia who has moved to Orleans waited on me the day before yesterday to Deliver the Respectful Compliments of Doct^r. F. Fisher, Doct^r. Gardner, Col. Copper and Col. Waters old acquaintances and friends in that Country—he says Doct^rs. Fisher & Gardner are both in health and prosperous Situations.

Thomas Rodney.

(Written along the side of the page)—I have Constantly avoided medling in the Local politics of the West yet think that you should be rightly informed of them for the Direction of your own Conduct as one of the Cabinet for what may be said by Either party will need a grain of allowance.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Oct^r. [?] 1807.

My dear Son

I mentioned in a former Letter that Elisha I. Hall Esq^r. of Virginia had been here and that I was to have traversed the Wilderness with him and T. H. W. If I had not been taken Sick—The Doct^r. wrote to me from South West Point on his way home where he went for the Purpose of bringing his family to this Country—The Doct^r. First Studied Physic and then the Law which he practised on the Eastern Shore of Maryland Some time and then Married and Moved to Virginia near Winchester and now Intends to become a Cotton Planter in this Country he Desires me to Introduce him to you by Letter that he may tell you all about this Country. He staid most of his time In washington While in this territory, but rode a good deal about to see the Country—I rode with him Several times & Introduced him to a number of the most respectable Planters in our part of the Territory, and he was generally pleased with the Friendly Hospitality he met with—As he Intends to Visit the City of Washington

I shall Inclose my Letter to him in this to you—The Doct^{r}. as we Call him studied Law with M^{r}. Smith Secretary of the Navy and being a man of Information Can give you a better account of this Country than those Transient Visitors who only glance over it for Transient purposes—I have recovered my health perfectly since the Cool weather Commenced—the Papers inform us that the Jury have acquitted Burr of Treason in the District of Virginia—This was apprehended If the Court rejected the Evidence of Assembling his Forces on Cumberland Island—Nevertheless he will always be Considered as a Traitor since the public knows that this fact Combined with his Plans & Intention has Evidently shewn him to be such—and therefore he may Expect to be detested throughout the U. S. by all who are Sincerely attached to the government. Some of his Agents here however (and this territory Contains numbers of them) rejoiced greatly on hearing of his acquittal and some of them, I have been told, talked of raising his Standard Immediately—If no Examples are made there is little doubt but his minions will be the Cause of great Disturbances in the Country —I Dined yesterday at Col: Elliss in Company with Governor Claiborne and his Lady where Burrs Escape was Spoken of The Governor Declared he was so fully Convinced of the treason of Burr and his Party that Every man of them ought to be hung—The Gov^{r}. was to go off today and Intended to Decend the River to Point Coupre and thence to go by the Tuccapaw [Tucapau] where his wifes father lives—A friend of the Governors hinted to me that he Intended to visit the Federal City this Fall with a View of Resigning for his Situation Seems to have become Verry Disagreable to him by the Great abuse and Opposition he has met with—I some time ago several years since observed to you that these Western Governments required Men of Military Caracter & Experience in State affairs to

govern them—Such would Command respect and traitors would not Consider it so Easy to stir up Mischief in the Western Country Gov^{r}. W. has lost all the Confidence of the Republicans and is treated with such abuse & Disrespect by them that he has no Assylum but among the Federalists which in a few years bids fair to Completely Federalize this Territory—the Present Lowering aspect in the West can only be dispelled by the most wise and Considerate Appointments —If Merit and not favoritism Dictates them the General Government would soon acquire a degree of Confidence that Could not be Shaken by Traitors.

M^{r}. Poindexter has lost his youngest son since he left here—I Visited the family since and find that M^{rs}. Poindexter bears the affliction with a great deal of decent fortitude—I shall write to him as soon as I git a lezure Moment but make no doubt his friends have informed him of this disaster before this.—I hope you & your family have got quietly Settled at the Federal City—Present my affectionate regard to Susan & the Children.

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington Nov^{r}. 12th 1807.

My dear Son

I returned the day before yesterday from a Jaunt to the Walnut hills the highest Land in our territory, and perhaps the Richest Soil next to the River bottom Land and Indeed great part of it not inferior to bottom Lands. The Lands however are only settled along the Bluff of the Misisipi from the big black River up to the walnut hills and six miles up the Yazoo Bluff I had bought 2 small Tracts 2 miles beyond the hills and one mile from the Great fishing Lake which is part of the old bed of the Yazoo when it fill into the great River at the W. hills—Most of the Land between the River and

big black belong to the U. S. and are all Rich but some parts of it much broken with hills and Bjos—The Walnut hills are the Marvels of the Territory and probably in a short time after the public Lands are sold will begin to outstrip Natchez—Their Crops this year far exceed this part of the territory in abundance ℔er Acre—I found my tract more pleasantly situated than I expected—My 400, acre tract is on the hills including a Valley running through it and a never failing stream of Water running through the Valley which has to decend one hundred feet before it reaches the Lake, yet the road up to this tract is of Easy assent and from the bottom of the hill quite Level to the Landing on the River at the W. hills—Infact that part of the territory will be the most Pleasant and healthy part of the Country when Improved—Judge Bay & turnbull have 80 Slaves at work at the hills and will make 150,000 w^{t}. of Cotton this year and a much larger quantity annually in future for they had almost all their Land to Clear—

The General Assembly had adjourned last winter to the first Munday in this Month—The Gov^{r}. sugested that the adjournment was Illegal &^{c}. and yesterday he proroged them without day. Most of them were highly displeased at this and some of them thought it was done to prevent their Complaining of his Conduct &^{c}. they have however dispersed—I write frequently but whether my Letters reach you or not I cannot tell because I have not heard from you for a long time The Post Office here is in the hands of M^{r}. Winston brother in law to the Governor and of late very Indifferently attended to and some Suspect mismanagement as they say many Letters have been delaid in the office a week or two and one was lately noticed from M^{r}. Branhem to have the seal broken before sent away I do not know what occasions this alteration of Conduct for Winston used to be very attentive. The course of Local Politics here you will find best displaid in the Natchez Papers—

I cannot tell why Smith does not send my Intelligencer Regularly to this Town—I wrote to him a long time ago to Direct it to this town or not send it at all—I git only one in three or four weeks so that it is useless—When Burrs Trial is published dont neglect to send me a Copy—

There seems to have been some secret Correspondence between Burr and Wilkinson that both of them seem Inclined to Conceal—What is that Delicacy that Conceals this Correspondence—If the Conduct of Either of them be Treasonable is not the other bound by the Law as well as the duty he owes his Country to reveal it? Can there be any Excuse for an honest mans Concealing the treasonable projects of a Traitor? Is private Confidence to out weigh Public duty—Wilkinsons Caracter was brightning but I fear that Secret unrevealed Correspondences will Darken it again.

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Washington Nov^{r}. 20th 1807.

My dear Son

We have Federal City papers to the 16th. and Richmond Papers to the 20th of last Month but I have not heard from you for three months past—I wrote for the last mail but being away it was not put in the office—Indeed the Office is badly attended here of late—I have called on Mail day several times and not found any person in the office tho the door has always been open so that it seems doubtful whether the Letters are secure in it or not—what the reason of this is I know not for Winston used to be very attentive—The dissatisfaction between the Gov^{r}. and Republicans seems daily increasing and they seem determined to memorialize the Government against his Conduct—Those Republicans not removed are resigning so that in a Little time there will be few or none in office—but as to politics I

must refer you to the Natchez papers or to Mr. Poindexter with whom the leading Republicans Correspond

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

T. of Washington M. T. Novr. 25th 1807.

My dear Son

Your Letter of the 25th Ult. came to hand by the Mail this Morning—I was very glad on receiving it for I had not heard from you so long that I began to be anxious and apprehensive something was the matter—therefore was rejoiced to find you and family were well and that Susan had brought you another Daughter.

The Virginia Argus came on by this Mail—It Contained Mr. Poindexter's Examination at Richmond—I observe by that and other Examinations great Struggles were made to Cast all the odium possible on the President, Genl. Wilkinson and myself—L. Martin has been by his assertions, violent in his accusation of my Conduct and no doubt was very drunk at the same time—The modern Thersites ought to remember what his Prototype suffered from the Correction of Ulysses —for similar blackgard Conduct—On my Return from the Federal City to Dover in 1803, I stoped at Baltimore—L. Martin waited on me and Introduced himself for this was the only time I ever saw him—He was remarkably Polite and friendly, and spent the Evening with me at the Tavern where I had put up—We had much Conversation about this Country in the Course of which he frequently asserted that the western Country would Seperate from the U. States in less than ten years and begged me to remember what he then said—I differed widely from his opinion on the subject, and assured him I should do Every thing in my power to prevent such a Seperation should it be attempted while I should remain in this Country but that I had no apprehension of such an Event—But when Burrs

attempt became Evident I was Induced to think it probable that Martin was acquainted with such an Intention Even before I Came here—For I have since observed several affidavits published which tend to shew that he was will acquainted with Burrs Intentions—He and Burr are sutable Companions—Both them are Void of both Honor and Veracity & Completely fitted in Disposition to any kind of Villiany—and both will be Dispised and Ditested in America as long as the Patriotic Love of Liberty and good Government remains. The President will be Honored and Respected as much as they are Ditested and Dispised for their Villianous attempt to asspurse his Caracter and Conduct As to Burrs Soldiership he is only a Pistol Warrior; when here, he trembled at the mention of Wilkinson Name. thereby discovering that he thought Wilkinson Superior to himself as a Soldier tho' in his boasting Letter he had Vainly said "Wilkinson should be second to Burr" —his Imbicile attempt to overturn the Government of his Country tho' it Evidences the Traitor shews nothing in it of a great Mind beyond that of Vain ambition and Intreague—The C. J. I observe has Extended his opinion so as to render the Assemblage at Cumberland Island quite Innocent—Therefore Burr will meet with no punishment but the Detestation of his Country—I wrote to yourself and M^{r}. Poindexter by the last Mail and have little to add here—I still Enjoy good health—The Supreme Court is in Session and will hold this week and next and then Judge Leak, returns for his family—Bruin does not attend,—he was Confined with very sore Eyes—I shall Expect the Presidents Message and the Pamphlet you mention by the next Mail—I have not a doubt but the Message will support the P^{rs}. usual Dignity and Excellence—He is like a Rock in the Ocean against which the tempest beats in Vain and serves only to Pollish and not Injure—So rage in Vain his Virulent adversaries—His Conduct towards

Burr was like Ithurials spear—It Exhibited the Traitor Fiend in all his old ugly form.

God bless you all adieu

Your affect^n^. Father

Thomas Rodney.

Major Carter informs me that M^rs^. Poindexter and all the family are well—If none of them write by this mail he will be glad to hear this.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Dec^r^. 24^th^ 1807

My dear Son

I wrote to you by last mail, and was not then very well but have got quite well again—By the European Intilligencer it seems as if we should be unavoidably plunged into a war or by the Maritime Conduct of France and Great Brittain be Deprived of all our Commerce—Each one of those Tyrants is Determined that no Neutral Nation shall supply the other thus they prohibit the Commerce of all the rest of the World—They have become Desperate and regard not the Law or moral Rules of Nature or Nations—This then must produce a Crisis in respect to this Country that will require all the Wisdom of the General Government to Manage—What can they do If France and Great Brittain adhere to their imperial Blockade? Will it be prudent to trust our Ships at Sea when they are sure to be siezed by one tyrant or the other without resistance? Or can it be advisable to fight them both?—or can we make a friend of one by fighting the other?—Or will it be more wise to shut ourselves up like a terrapin in its Shell, and by Encouraging Manufactures determine to live within ourselves till the storm blows over? To mount the winds, sit in the the Tornado & direct the Storm, or to attempt this, I fear would be to enter on the Stage of Tyrants, for altho I dread nothing that any foreign Tyrant can do, yet he who can

make such Potent ones as now Rule abroad, might afterwards become a Tyrant himself—Such has often been the Case—and our Country has lately Exhibited an Example of what It may produce when Circumstances are more favorable to the ambitious—But whatever the Crisis may be I doubt not the Wisdom and Virtue of the Nation will be Competent to meet it.—

The Legislature of this Territory was, today prorogued till the first Munday in February—It was Said they were drawing up a Memorial to the Federal Government ag^{t}. the Governor, but whether this was the Cause of their being Prorogued or not I have not heard, but it is said some of the Members are much displeased at this Interruption of their business.

Judge Leak set off the day before yesterday to Virginia for his family, he will hardly have time to visit the Federal City as he aught to be here again by the 4th Munday in May. In the meantime I have all the Circuit Courts to attend for Judge Bruin is quite unable to attend—When you write home give my Love to Sally & Susan and the Children. God bless you Adieu

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Washington M. T. Jan^{y}. 27th 1808.

My dear Son

Your Letter of the 3^{d}. of December Came to hand by last mail—I am very glad to hear that all our friends are well—but am sorry to hear that you have got your hip hurt—You do not say how it happened but as it is a dangerous joint to git Injured you aught to be very careful how you use it till it gits restored—

The Inclosures—M^{r}. Duanes Letter and that Webbs Exrs, Came safe to hand—M^{r}. Duanes business I have put in the hands of M^{r}. Shields who will attend to it—Col. Ellis Died last fall and his widow & Extrix M^{rs}. Ellis has not yet informed me whether she will take

the Coach or not but I put the Letter in her hands, and think it probable she would take the Carriage If there was any Market for Cotton (for they have 2 Crops now on hand)—Since writing the above M^rs^ Ellis Called at my House, on her way to Wood-Lawn, her Buffalo plantation, and says she will inform me on her return whether she will take the Coach or not, but inclines to take it if she can sell her Cotton so as to Enable her to make the necessary Remittance—Judge Bruins Resignation has reached the Seat of Government & of course the Vacancy will be filled next March—I only remind you of what I said in favor of M^r^. Poindexter last Winter—He is a warm and Decided Republican and a very sincere friend to those he likes, and having Executed the office of Att^y^. Gen^l^. for several years with great Integrity and ability, stands Customarily in the road to that appointment but I fear (for some Cause unknown to me) he is not in favor with the new President yet stands fair, I am told with the President Elect I am persuaded they will not git one better qualified—It will be material to me that a Successor to Bruin should be here by the 4^th^ Munday in May because I have a strong desire to visit my native state next April yet the Republicans & Indeed the People generally object to my going for fear that I will not return—For they are very ardent to form a Convention to make a Constitution and then to apply to be admitted into the Union as a State—and wish my aid in this business—And for aught I know my Presence may be of use to prevent anything untoward in the progress of such an Event—For the People generally seem so dissatisfied and angry with the Conduct of Gov^r^. W—— that some irregular Conduct might take place If not moderated by those they respect.

It appears by the papers that M^r^. Madison has been Elected President by a Considerable Majority he will probably make the most agreeable successor to M^r^. Jef-

ferson, as being of the same mind in a great degree and being also well Versed in his plans & System of police—Yet I feel high respect for the Patriotism & Revolutionary Principles of M^r^. Clinton and M^r^. Munro, and shall therefore be sorry if the angry publications of Different Partisans should make any Difference among the Principals on acct of one being preferred, which was Enevitable—

In a Republic like ours if a hundred were nominated, all aught to be satisfied with the one preferred by the People—Therefore M^r^. Clinton & Munro will be so, and give M^r^. Madison all the aid in their Power to promote the Interest & welfare of the U. S.—The Present Crisis demands a Combination of all the Patriotism and wisdom of the Nation—This will Excite every man who loves his Country to Contribute his Mite—Adieu.

Thomas Rodney

P. S. I know nothing of the Closet politics at [head] [torn] quarters but report says that the Sect^y^. of War the Secret^y^. of the Treasury & the Postmaster General go out with the old President—If so M^r^. Madison Will have almost a New Cabinet—Yet Even report has not Designated the new ministers—They will have an Arduous Task on their hands.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Feb^y^. 22^d^. 1808.

My dear Son

I frequently write to you altho I have not received a Letter from you for a long time—Nor have I received the Pamphlets you promised—I shall like you to send me Capt^n^. Lewis's Travels to the western Ocean when published—I understand by M^r^. Shields that M^r^. Poindexter is a Candidate to succeed Judge Bruin here in Case the Judge Resigns, which I have been told by M^r^. Bragwale one of our bar who resides in Claiborn County, he means to do about the first of April after

attending the Circuit Courts of Claiborne and Jefferson —I know of no Republican Lawyer here more fit for that Station and I question if any Could be prevailed on to Come from the States more Competent—He has also been the Attorney General here several years and discharged that Duty with ability & attention and you know that in the Country from whence our Jurisprudence is derived that is the road to the bench—I hope M^{r}. Shields will be appointed District Attorney, and young Pope, (son of Colonel Charles Pope of Delaware) Marshal of this District.

The mail has been very irregular for two months past —The latest news received from the Federal City, is up to the 4th of Jan^{y}. last—We have heard of M^{r}. Rows arrival at Norfolk but know nothing what his Mission has or will Effect—The Planters and Merchants here bare the Effects of the Imbargo with patience but would be glad to see it at an end without war if possible—The Brittish blockading Orders have arrived here, and tend in some degree to make the Imbargo Sit more Easy— It is Expected from Some Communication received here that the Chocktaw treaty will be ratified—I rather think this will be advantageous to us—I hear nothing further of any additional allowances to the Commissioners who acted west of Pearl River—We came here at the rate of two thousands Dollars a year—Congress varied the Compensation after we were here—Was this Equitable, or can they think it reasonable that we should attend to the business in this Expensive Country a year and a half which I have done without any Compensations? If they will not let us have money, it would be but just to Compensate us in Lands—Yea they aught to compensate us generously—What would it be out of their Pockets to bestow on the Board and its officers a township somewhere between the River and the big black? I have seen the Presidents Letters declining a future Election This determination is truly

Patriotic—but I wish it may not be attended with discord, or danger at this Crisis.

We observe by the papers that a Violent rupture has taken place between M^r^. Randolph and Gen^l^. W. and that the President has ordered a military Court to Enquire into the Generals Conduct—This together with Burrs Conspiracy, and Mirandas Expedition, Indicates a Restless Spirit of Discord in our Country—but I trust the Patriotic Virtue of the people will overrule everything adverse to their Liberty and welfare.

Thomas Rodney

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

M. T. Town of Washington March 1^st^ 1808.

My dear Son

I know not whether M^r^. Dunbar or M^r^. Peas, have given any of their Correspondents at the Federal City any account of the Comet which made its appearance above the western Horizon here in the Evening about the 20^th^ of September and was first observed by M^r^. Peas (the Surveyor Gen^l^. on the 22^nd^ of Sept^r^. and he has traced its path since to the 3^d^ of Feb^y^. or had done so when I Conversed with him last—It had then passed through an arch of 140 degrees and no doubt he has traced it several Degrees since—I mentioned in a former Letter that M^r^. Dunbar had traced its path through 135 Degrees on the 17^th^ of January, and had designated its path on a large Celestial globe so that it could be accurately seen by any person Its Course seemed to be from S. W. to N. E. Their observations Commenced while it was on the Leg of the Virgin a little below her Robe, and in its Course passed over the bright Star *Lyra* in the Harp—I went several times to view this Phenomina through M^r^. Dunbars glasses, which are the best we have in this part of our Country—Indeed they are Excellent.

I expect He and M^r^. Peas, after their observations

are Completed, (for I believe the Comet is not out of their View yet) and corrected, Will publish them for the Information of the World, & particularly other Observers of the Same Phenomina—and they will tend to shew that this territory is not altogether in the dark or destitute of Scientific men—Indeed I believe their observations have been made with such accuracy and attention as will not only do Credit to themselves but tend to the Improvement of Astronomy in respect to the Phenomina of Comets which is no doubt very Defective at present—For even the most skillful and Enlightened Astronomers have yet very strange and absurd Ideas about Comets—Ideas totally Inconsistant with the Infinitely wise order and Regulations of the Universe.

Even some if not all our most Enlightened Astronomers Consider the Comets as Wandering, as it were, at random through our Solar System, within the Orbits of the other Planets and liable to run foul of them or burn them up &c&c—This is surely nothing better than Scientific nonsense & inconsistant with the Nature of the Planets, and Principles of the Universe.

The Comets are no doubt Planets belonging to the Solar System, moving in more distant and more Eliptical, or more Eccentric, orbits than the other known Planets of our system. Their Atmospheres no doubt are Calculated to supply them with a due degree of Light and heat in all parts of their Orbits—In approaching the sun their Atmosphere having like our own the Capacity of baring only a certain degree of heat gradually retires behind the body of the Planet and forms what we Call the tail, and by this means moderates the degree of heat on the body of the planet so as to render it Comfortable to the Inhabitants that occupy it—Again when the Planet is retiring the Atmosphere gradually Collects round it again so as to afford it a Comfortable degree of heat and light at its

greatest distance from the Sun. When the Phenomina of the Comets Comes to be better understood by Astronomers, the propriety of what I have here Sugested will then appear. This will not reach you till you have more lazure to read than I expect you have now—We have had here no warm weather this winter, but we have had pleasant Spring weather for about ten days past—I have got one Square of Peas planted and a good many small seeds sewn but none up yet—Several however have their Early Peas stuck—As I must set out on the Circuit this week I must git all my seeds in the ground before I go away. The Legislature here will conclude their Session this Evening—As Gov^{r}. Williams Period of Office Expires today they have doubts whether he can Legally Act longer Unless reappointed—and as the Secretary T. H. W. is absent they think an Interregnum will take place—The Gov^{r}. thinks he has a right to act, Untill he is reappointed or a Successor arrives and qualifies &^{c}. I sugested to the Members that the Decision of this Question did not rest Either with them or the Governor but with the Judiciary—and that they could not Decide it, Untill it Came in Some way Legally before them—The Misisipi is unusually high at this time and there is an uncommon Number of Kentucky boats at Natchez so that Country produce is Very Cheap—Flour $5. Corn 3 bits, Bacon 8 dol^{s}. p^{r}. hund^{d}.—a vast supply of other articles Equally Cheap, & many Cheaper—beside the great number of boats at Natchez they run into Every River & Creek in all parts of the Country—I recd. a Letter dated 10th of Jan^{y}. from Doct^{r}. Hall in which he mentions that he had not recd. a Letter I inclosed to you for him—If you have not seen him, send it to him at Winchester Virginia—

Thomas Rodney

N. B. While I was writing this Letter the Governor Dissolved the General Assembly.

(Written on the side of the first page —)

Note—we recd. no paper from the Federal City by the mail to-day—March 2ª.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington March 18th 1808

My dear Son

Your Letter of the 28th of Janʸ. came to hand some days ago—Since which we have had the News by way of Tennessee to the 1 of Febʸ. and by way of Orleans to the 15th of the same month from the Federal City—If it be time that Mʳ. Row has demanded that the President should Recind his Proclamation respecting the Chesapeake previous to his Negociating, I shall be proud to hear that he is Dismissed without further Ceremony, and Let Old England Sink with the weight of her own Haughty and Imperious Pride for that will be her fate in the Course of the Next war she wages with America. It is well known to the Statesmen both of Great Brittain and France, that if America is forced into a war with one or the other of those powers against the other, that other must be over thrown—Both of them therefore are Equally Impolitic to Endeavour to force us into a war against either—Bonapartes Decree of Blockade is an Act of foolery—and the Brittish Court have been weak Enough to be fooled by it into a Measure Equally mad, and far more Destructive to themselves.

I find the Conflict between Genˡ. W. on one side and Burr & Clark &ᶜ on the other is growing very sharp and Inviterate, and as you are situated it will require firm guarded and Prudent Conduct to preserve you from being drawn into share any part of the Conflict beyond what your duty may require.

Burr is no doubt the Prime Mover of the attack on the General, and therefore it is the duty of government to support the General against that Host of traitors to

their Country—Yet if it should be proved that the General ever received a Pension from Spain or ever attempted or was disposed to separate the western Country from the Union, I should think it not safe to let our Army remain under his Command—Yet I hope he will make it appear that all those Charges are ground[less] for I should Indeed Very much Regret see^{s}. an Old Revolutionary proved guilty of thus debasing his Virtue and Patriotism—But whatever the Generals former Conduct may have been his Dicided opposition to the traitor Burr was highly Meritorious—The Generals son is at Orleans at least I have not heard of his return nor did I see him when he was up, but M^{r}. W^{m}. Dunbar told me he Intended Settling in this territory to practise the Law and had gone down to Orleans for his wife—If he Comes I shall attend to your request—As the aspect of Public affairs looks like an approaching war; If it should happen my advice to government is that they appoint no special Commander in Chief—As the Army must be in different bodies, distantly seperated, let each army or body of the army have its own Commander—accountable only to the President or Sect^{y}. of War—As there can hardly be less than 4 or 5 seperate Detachments it will require a Major General to Command each.

I am glad to hear the family are all well, give my love to Susan & the Children and Sister Sally.

Thomas Rodney

(To be continued.)

CHARLES LEE—STORMY PETREL OF THE REVOLUTION.*

BY EDWARD ROBINS, M.A.

Major-General Charles Lee, about whom I have the honour to speak to you this evening, is one of the most picturesque and one of the most ill-starred figures that cross the panorama of Revolutionary history, and it is perhaps for this reason that I have chosen him for my subject. I have always thought that he would make a striking theme for an historical novel, and, although I have not the skill to treat him in that way, I shall try tonight to sketch briefly the rise, decline and fall, to show the bright lights and dark shadows, of this paradoxical man of whom it may be said, in charity, that he was his own worst enemy.

Brilliant, imperious, liberal-minded but narrow, vain to the verge of insanity, acid of tongue, talented yet unbalanced, brave yet treacherous, a lover of animals but quarrelsome with men, spirited yet meanly envious, —a strange jumble of good and evil—such was Charles Lee, who lies buried without the walls of old Christ Church in this city, his grave unmarked and forgotten, his reputation sadly blackened, and "none so poor to do him reverence."

In his entertaining "Essays Historical and Literary" the late John Fiske has said of Lee: "Wherever a war is going on, it is apt to draw from other countries a crowd of officers who come to look on and give advice, or perhaps to study the art of war under new conditions, or to carve out for themselves a career for which

* An address delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 14, 1921.

no chance seems to be offered them at home. This was amply illustrated in the war of independence. * * * A swarm of officers crossed the Atlantic in the hope of obtaining commands and not less than twenty-seven such foreigners served in the Continental army, with the rank of general, either Major or brigadier. I do not refer to such French allies as came with Rochambeau, or in company with the fleets of D'Estaing and De Grasse. I refer only to such men as obtained commissions from Congress, and were classed for the time as American officers. Some were drawn hither by a noble, disinterested enthusiasm for the cause of political liberty; some were mere selfish schemers or crackbrained vagrants in quest of adventure. * * * Among the former there were five who attained real eminence and have left a shining mark upon the pages of history." Here Fiske alludes to De Kalb, Lafayette, Pulaski, Kosciusko and Baron Steuben. And he adds: "But in the eyes of the generation which witnessed the beginning of the Revolutionary War, none of the European officers just mentioned was anything like so conspicuous or so interesting a figure as Charles Lee. He was on the ground before any of these others; he had already been in America; he came with the greatest possible amount of noise; he laid claim to the character of a disinterested enthusiast so vehemently that people believed him."

Personally, I think that General Lee was more sincerely interested in the American cause when he first attached himself to it than John Fiske gives him credit for being, but we all know how this tempestuous English soldier weakened in the end and finally betrayed it. It is certain, at least, that he took up the rights of the Americans with tremendous energy, by act, and word, and pen, and for a time enjoyed a prestige over here which threatened to submerge the far nobler, more efficient but less spectacular Washington.

When Lee reached New York in 1773,—he had been here before during the English campaigns against the French—everything that was known about his past career tended to foster this prestige. For he had already played an active and noisy part in European life, and bore the reputation of being a man of aristocratic lineage, a brave and experienced officer and a virile pamphleteer in the cause of ideal democracy.

Charles Lee came of an old Cheshire family, and was born at Dernhall in 1731, his father being of the British army. Part of his youthful education was received in Switzerland where he acquired a good working knowledge of French and the classics and where his environment gave him that love of free government and hatred of tyranny for which he afterwards became famous and which he sometimes vented from the housetops, figuratively speaking, with all the ardor of a modern Fourth of July orator. Later he picked up at least a smattering of Spanish, Latin and German and set himself to study the art and technique of war as it was practiced in those days before Napoleon had arisen to show that real war is something more than cut and dried science. When the time came for him to carry out the teaching of this art as a commander in the American Revolution he found, much to his surprise, that he was not half as successful as a certain colonial named George Washington, who didn't know half as much about the art as he did. It is said, with what truth I know not, that young Lee was given a commission in the British Army at the tender age of eleven; it may be true, because in the middle of the eighteenth century there existed an abuse—we should call it now by the "short and ugly" name of graft—by which children sometimes received commissions and their adoring families drew the pay accruing therefrom. But when he was fifteen Charles was appointed an ensign in his father's old regiment, the Fifty-fourth, and it was as a lieutenant in this regi-

ment that he later on went to America and took part in the ill-fated campaign against Fort Duquesne, under General Braddock. Poor, vain, blustering Braddock. When he told wise Benjamin Franklin how he was going to push through the forests of Pennsylvania and conquer the Indians just as if he were waging a scientific war in Europe against an open enemy, our Philadelphia philosopher smiled a pitying smile, for he knew that the Indians would fight in the stealthy way they wanted to and *not* according to the rules of war as laid down by the hectoring Englishman. And so Braddock lost his life for his foolishness, and the expedition came to grief; his young aide, George Washington, went home, after distinguishing himself, and young Lieutenant Lee escaped with his life, without realizing under what circumstances fate would throw Washington and himself together again—how they would meet as rebels to their King, how they would become warm friends, how they would quarrel, and how Lee would die dismally and almost alone in a Philadelphia tavern, whilst Washington, whom he had always secretly envied and tried to unhorse, was being acclaimed the saviour of his country. Life is full of such contrasts.

When Lee's regiment finally went into winter quarters in Albany, New York, he became very friendly with the neighboring Mohawk Indians, and was made a member of the Bear tribe under the appropriate name of "Ounewaterika"—for when I add that that means "Boiling Water" you can see the significance of the title, for if ever there was a man who was always in hot water that man was Charles Lee. He was always making trouble, if it didn't come naturally; he had an unpleasant way of criticizing his superiors, and he could sometimes say very sharp things to and about his friends, and the fact that what he said was often true did not make his wit any the more palatable. We are often content to have truth remain at the bottom of the well.

Now it appears that Lee, seeking more boiling water, took unto himself a wife from among the Indian squaws —a lady whom he enthusiastically describes as "a very great beauty." But this encumbrance is soon lost sight of, and I am afraid the fickle soldier, who always liked the fair sex, did not take the aboriginal Mrs. Lee very seriously. Save for this Indian marriage, he remained a bachelor to the end, and it used to be whispered among the Chews, the Cadwaladers, the Willings and other fair Philadelphians, when he was visiting here, that his ugliness and untidy habits had caused more than one charmer to refuse him. For Lee was no beauty, and people made fun, behind his back, of his tall, scrawny figure and huge aquiline nose, and of his thin legs, which seemed too long for his trunk. He had piercing, restless eyes and a sarcastic expression about the mouth, and I warrant you that his friends were pretty careful what they said to his face, and tried to make the best of the dogs with which he surrounded himself. He liked nothing better, indeed, than bringing his dogs into a drawing room or, better still, having them eat at the dinner table, and if anybody objected he was apt to say that he had always found his canine friends much more attractive and faithful than his human friends.

I must pass over, in a few words, Lee's military career prior to our own Revolution. He bought a captaincy in his regiment, he commanded the Forty-fourth Grenadiers and was wounded in the desperate assault on Ticonderoga, July 1, 1758; he was at the capture of Niagara in 1759, and at the capture of Montreal, and in all the active service he saw in America he proved himself as brave as he was querulous and fault-finding. And while he loved to call people hard names he did not enjoy criticism directed against himself; he was very much like the man who said: "I have a keen sense of humor except when I am made the subject of it!" So

when he was quartered in Long Island and a medical officer lampooned him, Lee did not see the humor of it, and promptly thrashed the offender, whereupon the offender attacked Lee, who barely saved his own life.

The year 1761 found Lee back in London, where he received his appointment, in August of that year, as Major in the One Hundred and Third Foot, or "volunteer hunters" as they were called, a newly-raised light corps. He was one of the officers attached to the staff of the British Army with which he served as lieutenant-colonel in the campaign in Portugal, in 1762, and covered himself with glory under General John Burgoyne in the brilliant affair at Villa Velha (October 5, 1762). He returned home at the peace and was placed on half pay.

This did not suit the active, critical temperament of the Lieutenant-Colonel, who was as restless as he was critical, and who, furthermore, wanted to conquer in fresh fields. So he busied himself by inventing a Utopian scheme for the founding of military colonies on the Wabash and Illinois, and at intervals of leisure, he would abuse the English ministry. I think he must have had some Irish blood in his veins, for he was never so happy as when he was tilting with the existing government. He thought the ministry reactionary, and said so; he learned to look upon the young King George III as a narrow, bigoted man, and the fact that George was a paragon of domestic virtue did not appeal to him at all, for Lee himself was not unduly encumbered either with domesticity or with virtue. As a result the Ministers in power, whom he was criticizing in season and out, disliked him and refused to him the promotion and honors to which he considered himself entitled. Thus the brilliant officer went on growing in bitterness, and the more republican he became in his sympathies the more he hated the royal Houses of Hanover and of Stuart. His contempt for the Stuarts

was deep and unquenchable, and one of the finest bits of irony for which the Eighteenth Century is distinguished is his "Epistle" to David Hume, the historian, in which he subtly ridicules the latter for the way in which he has "whitewashed" the royal House of Scotland in his "History of England."

As there seemed no further chance of promotion in the British army, Lee secured letters of recommendation to the Polish government, and in 1764 was appointed a major-general in the Polish army and attached to the personal staff of Stanislaus Poniatowsky as adjutant-general. He spent several stirring years with the Poles, and on one occasion nearly lost his life by being snowed up in the Balkans. We can fancy that thereafter he had, in his highly vituperative way, some bad things to say about the Balkans.

After spending several years in Poland, where he undoubtedly acquired valuable military experience, Lee returned to England, where he intrigued with sufficient success to procure from a grateful Government letters patent for crown grants of twenty thousand acres of land in Florida. What a pity that he didn't emigrate there and raise oranges; he might have died, in due course, in the odor of sanctity, and orange blossoms, and no one could have written "traitor" against his name.

But what Lee really wanted was rapid promotion in the British army, and as he could not secure this, he did not hesitate to express his opinion of the British Ministry in no uncertain terms. The ministers retaliated by shrugging their shoulders and remarking that General Lee was a disappointed and vindictive place hunter. This was, no doubt, plain truth, but at that time most people in England were place-hunters of some kind or other, all seeking little work at large salaries. I am under the impression, indeed, that this sort of quest is not unknown in America at the present day.

Early in 1769 Lee went back to Poland, held a major-general's command in the campaign against the Turks, and enlivened the proceedings by telling everybody, in season and out, what a poor opinion he had of the commanders above him.

Once, upon returning from Hungary, Lee nearly died of a fever; at another time he fought a duel with an Italian officer—another matter of too much talk, I suppose—lost two of his own fingers and killed the Italian, with the result that he had to fly to Gibraltar, whence he embarked for London. This was in 1770, and it was on his reappearance in England that he wrote the admirable "Epistle" to David Hume of which I have spoken. At this time he was in possession of a private income of a thousand pounds sterling a year, through the death of his brothers, and grants of land in the colonies, but his restless spirit fretted for action; he wanted to play a part in the world, and he wanted a wide stage to do it in. It so happened that the affairs of America were beginning to attract excited attention; the first cloud of the Revolution had arisen, and Englishmen were discussing the claims of the colonials and the question of taxation. Some thoughtful persons contended that the Americans should have all they wanted, others echoed the harsh sentiment of old Samuel Johnson, who said that the Americans were "a race of convicts" and ought to be thankful for anything the English allowed them "short of hanging!" Now to Lee the cause of the Americans honestly and sincerely appealed, because it exactly fitted in with his own views about personal liberty and free government. As time went on, and the troubles across the water increased, Lee became more and more interested, and when the clouds of discontent burst into the flames of open rebellion he determined to go to America and encourage the colonials in their just resistance to oppressive measures. I believe that at this time, before envy

and conceit had altogether ruined his character, he was really ingenuous in his admiration of the American cause and that he was inspired by the best of motives, although he doubtless was hoping to play a popular rôle in the new country. An experienced and well-known British officer and pamphleteer going over to espouse the rights of the Americans was no mean event in this crisis and Lee naturally expected to become a bit of a hero. Who can blame him up to this point? After all, he was, as an officer on half pay, with estates in the mother country, taking a risk in what he was about to do. His early biographer, Edward Langworthy, says: "He was of course absent (in Poland) when the stamp act was passed; but, although absent, he did not cease laboring in the cause of America. * * * He used every argument and exerted all the abilities he was master of with every correspondent he had, in either House of Parliament. * * * He gave up security for insecurity, certainty for uncertainty, he threw himself into the lap of America without any chance of winning; he staked all on the side of her fortune; if she succeeded, he could not be better; if she miscarried his whole was lost."

There is something in what Langworthy says. Lee took up the grievances of the Americans long before there was anything for him to gain by so doing; indeed, he was likely to lose by giving offence to certain influential persons in the British government, who would see to it that this half-pay British officer and general in the Polish army would not receive his promotion in a hurry. There was one gentleman, I am quite sure, who wanted to get even with Lee, and nearly succeeded later on, and that was his Majesty, King George III, who believed that Americans were a race of rebels, although he did not consider them a race of convicts. No; I think Charles Lee was really disinterested at this time; if he had only remained so after

he reached America, and had not had his head turned by adulation, all would have been well.

Lee arrived in New York in November, 1773, amidst the agitation about the tea duties, and was received with enthusiasm. He travelled through the colonies, meeting Washington and other prominent men, and the more openly he expressed his admiration for the cause of the colonials the more popular he became. Here was a great British general and statesman—for so the Americans conceived him—come to encourage them; the Americans were properly flattered, and General Lee lost his head. He began to think that he was "the whole show" as we would term it now, and to persuade himself that he would have to teach the Americans how to run things. He had a great contempt for the untrained, civilian generals whom he met, from Washington down, and slowly but surely his gnarled heart was devoured by a great canker—the thought that he, and not Washington, should be at the head of the army. But I am anticipating a bit. When Lee first reached this country, he was following the rôle of an orator and writer, not a fighter, and in this guise he wrote his "Strictures on a Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans," in which he severely handled the Tory arguments of the writer of the "Friendly Address" itself. This was in 1774, and in December of the same year, he sent to his friend, Edmund Burke, through Sir Joshua Reynolds, the painter, a letter in which he contended that Americans should trust no one in their affairs unless he held some property in the colonies. In order that he might qualify himself, Lee bought an estate in the Shenandoah Valley, in Berkeley County, Virginia; to pay for it he borrowed money from Robert Morris, giving bills on his agent in England and mortgaging the property as security. Later on, when he had taken up arms against the British Government, the bills were returned protested, as all his property in

England had been confiscated, and Congress generously advanced him $30,000 as indemnity, the money to be paid back if he should ever recover his forfeited estate. Early in 1775, he had resigned his commission in the British Army, in a dignified letter which he wrote to the War Office: "The present measures (of the British Parliament) seem to me," he said, "so absolutely subversive of the rights and liberties of every individual subject, so destructive to the whole empire at large, and ultimately so ruinous to his Majesty's own person, dignity and family, that I think myself obliged, in conscience, as a citizen, Englishman, and soldier of a free state, to exert my utmost to defeat them."

Would that Lee could have lived up to this high plane. At this moment he was on the best of terms with Washington, who admired the English general exceedingly and seems to have deferred more or less to his opinions, which were always stated in no uncertain terms. When Lee went to Philadelphia his advice was eagerly sought by many members of Congress; from now until his downfall he remained a very important person, and even after his court martial, there were some patriots who believed in him.

Three days before Lee resigned from the British Army, he had been commissioned by Congress as second major-general in the Continental Army, Artemas Ward being first major-general and Washington commander-in-chief. He accepted the appointment, but with envy and much uncharitableness in his heart; he should have the commandership-in-chief, he thought, or, if not that, the first major-generalship. For Ward he professed a great contempt, and called him "a fat church warden;" for Washington he did not dare show any disrespect, but he always felt, until the day of his death, that he (Lee) should have been the leader and Washington the led. Subsequently, when Ward resigned, Lee was second in rank only to Washington, but even this did not

satisfy his greedy soul. Indeed, there came a time when some very patriotic persons, finding that the war was not going well for the cause of liberty, began to think that perhaps Charles Lee would be a better commander-in-chief than the Virginian. Joseph Reed must have thought so, when he wrote to Lee in November, 1776: "I confess I do think that it is entirely owing to you that this army and the liberties of America so far as they are dependent on it, are not totally cut off. You have decision, a quality often wanting in minds otherwise valuable. * * * Oh, General! An indecisive mind is one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall an army; I often have lamented it this campaign." In other days Reed must have realized that the Fabian policy which he was here criticizing was the only one that Washington, hampered as he was, could have pursued with any chance of success. No doubt others wrote to Lee in the same vein, so that he must have finally become sincerely convinced that the saving of America really rested with himself. Other generals in other wars have had the same hallucination.

In analyzing Lee's brief military career in the American forces, I do not see any warrant for the value which some of his contemporaries placed on his services. I suppose it was because of the fact, which we so often observe in this queer old world, that when he blew his own trumpet, as he was constantly doing, a good many people appraised him at his own valuation. Furthermore, his espousal of the American cause had endeared him to many, and those colonists who were frankly for separation from the mother country were wild with pleasure when he advocated independence—as he evidently did. He must have done so, for it is on record that he wrote to Edward Rutledge: "By the eternal God, if you don't declare yourselves independent, you deserve to be slaves!" He was ever strong in his language, as when he referred to King George III as "a

tyrant," and to the British Parliament as an "abandoned" institution. In the meantime, as the good but fatally obstinate King paced up and down Windsor, he must have given many a bitter thought to the recalcitrant Lee. For George III kept a very close tab on people, and seldom forgave an injury.

Lee accompanied Washington to Cambridge, where he was received with much deference, and where his great reputation had preceded him; he entered into a correspondence with his old friend, General Burgoyne, now in this country with an army— a conference which came to naught because the Assembly of Massachusetts disapproved of its continuance; he was employed at Newport and New York; he was nominated to the command of the American forces in Canada, but was counter-ordered to Charleston, South Carolina, where he ostensibly defeated the British attack of June 28, 1776, but the credit for which belonged to Moultrie, and when he repaired to New York, his chief business, until the time he was captured, seems to have been to thwart Washington in every conceivable way. On his arrival in New York, he took command of the right wing of Washington's army, and through the resignation of Ward, he was now senior major-general and there was no one above him but Washington! If disaster came to the latter, it seemed probable that Lee would be put in his place, to show the Americans what a trained British soldier, skilled in the technique and strategy and tactics of war, could accomplish. I must confess that it looks very much as if Lee tried deliberately to bring this about. I need not weary my hearers with a detailed account of Washington's campaign against Howe, or of the events preceding or following the fall of Fort Washington. Suffice it to say that General Lee, instead of bringing all his reputed skill and experience to help his chief, did everything he conceivably could to upset his plans, disobeyed his orders and wrote letters cal-

culated to increase a certain disaffection then existing against General Washington. When the latter reached Princeton, early in December, 1776, Lee, in disregard of Washington's orders, marched slowly to Morristown instead of crossing the Delaware near Alexandria, just as Gates was approaching on his way from Ticonderoga with seven regiments sent down by General Schuyler to Washington's assistance. Lee managed to have three of these regiments diverted to Morristown. Says John Fiske: "His design in thus moving independently was to operate upon the British flank from Morristown, a position of which Washington himself afterwards illustrated the great value. The selfish schemer wished to secure for himself whatever advantage might be gained from such a movement. His plan was to look on and see Washington defeated and humbled and then strike a blow on his own account.

Fiske always makes the very worst of Lee, and paints him in the blackest colors even when there is little white to be seen, but one must admit that his theory is more than plausible. Charles Lee, brave soldier, upholder of liberty, world patriot, was degenerating into a thing of meanness and a potential traitor. Just at this moment a strange thing happened to Lee. He had spent the night of December 13th at White's Tavern in Basking-ridge, several miles from his camp. Early in the morning an officer (Major Wilkinson) arrived at the inn with a dispatch from General Gates, and Lee, thrusting an old flannel gown over his night-clothes, placidly got out of bed and proceeded to write a letter to Gates. He naturally did not know that a Tory busybody had given the British, in camp fifteen or twenty miles away, due notice of his presence in the tavern. As he was finishing the letter, Wilkinson, looking out of the bedroom window, saw a troop of red-coated British soldiers riding rapidly up to the house. They were men from the Sixteenth Light Dragoons, under command of Colonel

William Harcourt, some of whom, by a curious coincidence, had served with Lee in Portugal and remembered him as a brave if somewat irascible soldier.

All sorts of stories were told in after years about Lee's conduct when he was captured. It was said that he betrayed abject terror; that he begged Harcourt to spare his life, and behaved in such a way as to disgust Wilkinson and the Britishers who had fought with him at Villa Velha. I doubt the truth of most of these stories; I think it much more likely that the American general indulged in more profanity than cowardice. It was a swearing age, and Lee, I shrewdly suspect, could follow out the adage of "swearing like a trooper." But it was undoubtedly a great shock to his nerves to be thus captured, for as the British dragoons crowded into his bedroom, and seized him, they cried out that he was a deserter from the British army and would be so treated by General Howe. Lee knew what that meant; there was more than humiliation in his being thus taken; there was the possibility of a disgraceful death!

Without being given time to dress the "Hero of Charleston," as he liked to be called, was tied on a horse, hurried off like a cattle thief to the British camp, and finally turned over to Sir William Howe in New York. In the meantime Lee's regiments were moved to the aid of Washington, in time to take part in the movement on Trenton.

Upon his arrival in New York, Lee was treated with much more courtesy than he had been by his captors at White's Tavern, but he was in a very delicate position. Howe regarded him as a deserter, and was, indeed, ordered to send him to England for trial, but just as the prisoner was about to set sail a weighty word came from General Washington. Five Hessian officers, said the American commander-in-chief, were held by him as hostages for Lee's safety. It is almost pathetic to think how faithful Washington still was to

Lee when we see how treacherously the Englishman had treated him. But Washington was a master diplomat in this matter, for he evidently knew that the British would be loath to sacrifice five Hessian officers and thus anger the German troops and the governments which had hired them out to the British. The British Ministry, after much discussion, was afraid to make way with Lee, and finally instructed Howe (this was as late as December, 1777) to treat the American major-general as a prisoner of war, "subject to exchange when convenient."

Nevertheless, it was a sad day for Lee when he entered New York as a prisoner, for from that day dates his treason to the American standard. We know much now that our ancestors never knew, and which, if they had known, would have caused them to place Lee in the same class with Benedict Arnold. It is all plain enough now. Lee, feeling that his life, as an alleged deserter, was in great danger, did everything he could to propitiate Sir William Howe. It must have been for this reason that he told Howe he disapproved of the Declaration of Independence, and believed, could he but seek an interview with a committee from Congress, that he could open the way to a satisfactory adjustment of all disagreements between Great Britain and the colonies. Howe, who was a bit of a pacifist, sanctioned such an interview, but Congress, very properly, would have none of it. The fact was that Lee was coming down from his pedestal with many Americans, a great many of whom were beginning to think that he was too erratic and temperamental (that is the word we would use to-day) to be a great general. No one suspected him of treachery, but at this very moment he was planning to deliver the Americans, whom he professed to serve so loyally, into the hands of the vindictive British. I say vindictive, because we know—such are the amenities of war—that if America had not

triumphed many of our ancestors would have been strung up on the branches of the nearest trees or lamp posts. As Franklin once remarked to Congress: "We must all hang together or assuredly we will all hang separately!"

Lee, in short, prepared for General Howe a plan of campaign against the Americans in which he "sincerely and zealously," as he expresses it, enters into the British interests and recommends an expedition to Chesapeake Bay—an expedition which was undertaken in the following summer. Of course treason could go no further than this; he had placed himself in the same abyss with Benedict Arnold, who was later to startle the world by his apostasy. But Lee's treason was unknown to the public for more than eighty years, and might never have been known, indeed, had not the document come to light among certain Howe papers in 1858, and afterwards found its way to the Lenox Library in New York. It is in Lee's handwriting, and is endorsed as "Mr. Lee's plan—29th March, 1777" in the writing of Howe's secretary, Sir Henry Strachey. There is the evidence, damning and undisputed; it is very hard for people who commit their crimes to paper and ink to "prove an alibi"! If you desire to know more of this "Plan" read George H. Moore's book, "The Treason of Charles Lee," published in 1860. Curious, when one comes to think of it, how this paper was carried to England by Sir Henry Strachey and how it remained hidden all those years in a country house in Somersetshire. There is something of romance in all this, although it is a tarnished romance, and when we think what Charles Lee might have done, and how he might have shone alongside of Washington and Wayne, Knox and Lafayette, Franklin, Morris, Jefferson, and the rest of that galaxy worthy of Rome's best days—when we think of all that, we can only lament.

As naturally nothing was known in the American camp about Lee's treachery, he was warmly welcomed when he joined Washingon's army at Valley Forge in May, 1778. Washington still believed in him, but Lee no longer had about him the glamor of a hero, and some people laughed when they told of how he had been packed off to New York on a horse, riding along hatless and clad in an old flannel wrapper, amid the jeers of his captors.

Why did Lee return to the American forces? He had proved himself, to General Howe, such a firm friend to Great Britain, by his apostasy, that one might suppose he would rather have continued with the British. It has been argued, however, that he still hoped to supplant Washington, and would finally emerge as the saviour of America; thus making another political somersault. I can hardly believe this theory, because there is evidence that whilst he was at Valley Forge, Lee was corresponding with Sir Henry Clinton, the successor to General Howe. I am under the impression that when Lee was exchanged, it was with the definite understanding between him and the British that he would do all he could to hinder the progress of the Continental army. He certainly seems to have acted on such a basis in a very short time.

In June, 1778, Sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, hoping to cross New Jersey on his way to New York without giving battle. Washington followed, to attack him on the way. Lee professed himself as doubting the success of such an attack. Of course he did not want to see the rear forces of his correspondent, Sir Henry, come to grief! Washington's plan was to make an oblique attack on Clinton's rear division, to cut it off from the advance division, but as Lee disapproved of it, the commander-in-chief directed Lafayette to carry the movement out. It was arranged that an advance force of about 6,000 men, under Lafay-

ette, was to attack the British rear division upon its left flank and engage it until Washington could come up with the rest of the army. Then Lee changed his mind and solicited the command. Lafayette gracefully yielded.

Lee and his troops came up with Clinton's rear guard near Monmouth Court House on the morning of June 28th. His duty was clear before him; he had Washington's strict orders, and all he had to do was to go ahead and attack according to plan. But this is exactly what he did not do; he allowed his division to retreat and gave such extraordinary orders that Lafayette, dazed and worried, sent a message to Washington begging him to come up to the front. Washington hurried up and was amazed to find Lee's forces retreating in disorder, with the British close at their heels. Soon he met Lee, and then followed a scene which, painful though it was, I should dearly love to have witnessed. Washington is always depicted to us as a very placid, cold, formal sort of a person, but his intimate friends knew that he had a fiery temper, which he kept, generally, under rigid control, and that he was a very human gentleman in more ways than one. So I should have liked to have stolen a glimpse of the "Pater Patriæ" when he displayed a little bit of "original sin"!

A Southern sergeant was more lucky than I and thus describes the scene: *"I saw General Washington coming from the rear of our column, riding very rapidly along the right flank, and as he came nearer my attention was fixed upon him with wonder; I never saw such a countenance before; *it was like a thundercloud before the flash of lightning!* Just as he reached the flank of my platoon he reined up his horse a little, and raising his right hand high above his head, he cried out with a loud voice: 'My God, General Lee, what

* Major Jacob Morton.

are you about?' General Lee began to make some explanation, but General Washington impatiently interrupted him, and with his hand still raised high up over his head, waving it angrily, exclaimed: 'Go to the rear, Sir!' Then he spurred his horse and rode rapidly forward." Thus it was that the commander-in-chief, by his lucky arrival, brought victory out of defeat.

Tradition has it that Washington added to his admonition several very picturesque and lurid oaths. I hope he did, although I don't advocate profanity; Lee, to whom he had always proved faithful, and who had been a thorn in his side for some time, deserved all the swearing in the vocabulary of an eighteenth century soldier!

Immediately Lee wrote to Washington in the tone of a martyr. "From the knowledge I have of your Excellency's character," he said, "I must conclude that nothing but the misinformation of some very stupid or misrepresentation of some very wicked person could have occasioned your making use of such singular expressions as you did, on my coming up to the ground where you had taken post; they implied that I was guilty either of disobedience of orders, want of conduct, or want of courage." He brazenly claims that the ultimate success of the day was due to himself and he adds: "——— in this instance, I must pronounce that he (Washington) has been guilty of an act of cruel injustice towards a man who had certainly some pretentions to the regard of every servant of his country and I think, Sir, I have a right to demand some reparation for the injury committed."

Washingon's reply was brief but admirable. It was as follows:

"Sir:

I received your letter, dated, through mistake, the first of July, expressed as I conceive, in terms highly

improper. I am not conscious of having made use of any very singular expressions at the time of my meeting with you, as you intimate. What I recollect to have said was dictated by duty and warranted by the occasion. As soon as circumstances will admit, you shall have an opportunity, either of justifying yourself to the army, to Congress, to America and to the world in general, or of convincing them that you are guilty of a breach of orders and of misbehaviour before the enemy on the 28th instant, in not attacking them as you had been directed, and in making an unnecessary, disorderly and shameful retreat."

To this Lee impertinently replied: "You cannot afford me greater pleasure than in giving me the opportunity of showing to America the sufficiency of her respective servants. I trust that the temporary power of office, and the tinsel dignity attending it, will not be able, by all the mists they can raise, to obfuscate the bright rays of truth."

Lee was thereupon arrested and tried by court-martial (July 2, 1778) on three charges: 1. Disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy; 2. Misbehaviour before the enemy in making an unnecessary, disorderly and shameful retreat; 3. Disrespect to the commander-in-chief. In August Lee was found guilty on all three charges and sentenced to be suspended from command for a year. Congress confirmed the findings.

At the court-martial the distinguished prisoner sought to vindicate himself by declaring that had he attacked as Washington ordered, he would have met disaster and that he retreated in order to lure the British across two deep ravines into a position where he could crush them. The court-martial took no stock in such a tame explanation, although there were some sincere persons of standing and probity who thought that Lee had sincerely tried to do his duty, although

throwing himself open to the charge of gross insubordination. Such an apologist was "Light Horse" Harry Lee, who says in his "Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States"; "The records of the court-martial manifest on their face the error of the sentence, and it is wonderful how men of honor and of sense could thus commit themselves to the censures of the independent and impartial. * * * The unfortunate general was only guilty of neglect in not making timely communication of his departure from orders, subject to his discretion, to the Commander-in-chief."

Of course Henry Lee could not know what we have known since the discovery of "Mr. Lee's Plan;" he would have been the last person on earth to condone the General's treason. And he would have been particularly chagrined at Charles Lee's mean treachery to Washington, for "Light Horse Harry" loved the latter, and he it was, in this very city of Philadelphia, who delivered a funeral elegy on Washington in which he called him "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens." I may add here that there was no kin between Charles Lee and the Lees of Virginia, so far as I am aware.

Charles Lee subsequently published what he called a "Vindication to the Public," which was an able bit of special pleading and convinced some readers that he was a martyr, but which otherwise fell flat. One result of his court-martial was that he was challenged to fight a duel by Steuben, who testified against him and whom Lee seems to have slandered; the challenge was refused, but in a few days Lee fought a duel with Colonel Laurens, Washington's aide-de-camp, for whom Alexander Hamilton (himself to be killed in a duel many years later) acted as second. Lee was slightly wounded. He bore generous testimony to the bravery of his adversary. "The young man," he said, "behaved splendidly; *I could have hugged him!*"

Lee was finally dropped from the army, after he had addressed one of his characteristic letters to Congress; I hardly think it is correct to say that he was dismissed in disgrace. He retired to his estate in the Shenandoah in the summer of 1779, where, in company with his dogs and a few favorite books, he lived pretty much as a recluse. Langworthy, his admiring biographer, naively remarks: "He lived in a style peculiar to himself, in a house more like a barn than a palace. Glass windows and plastering would have been luxurious extravagance * * * indeed, he was now so rusticated that he could live in a tub with Diogenes." This reference to Diogenes, whom Lee never suggested, is hardly appropriate, nor does Lee, in his untidy habits, suggest any connection with a tub.

Lee bred horses and dogs, and tried to play the farmer, but he was an unhappy, soured, discontented man and his farm was operated at a loss. What thoughts must have been his. He had come to America almost as a conquering hero and finally thought, in his vanity, that to him would be the task of saving her, and that his name would go echoing down the ages with the names of Alexander, and Augustus and Julius Cæsar, not to mention Cromwell, and Marlborough and a few lesser lights. And here he was a discredited commander, alone and neglected!

Lee grew more and more weary of his farm and of inaction. He wanted to get away from it and settle in some seaport town, where he could learn better what was going on in the great world in which he was now but a cipher. In June, 1782, he wrote to England to his sister, Sidney Lee, how much he admired the English as compared with any other nation. After denying to the Americans the possession of "truth, honesty, sincerity and good understanding," he says: "The New England men excepted, the rest of the Americans, though they fancy and call themselves Republicans,

have not a single Republican qualification or idea. They have always a god of the day, whose infallibility is not to be disputed; to him all the people must bow down and sing Hosannas!"

How the popularity of George Washington did rankle within him—Washington, whom he, in his English pride, had looked down upon as a raw colonial only created to be patronized and led by the great and infallible Major-General Charles Lee!

"To be sure," Lee goes on to assure his sister, "there are many exceptions to the general character of Americans," and among these exceptions he instances Robert Morris, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, John Adams, and Dr. Rush, as well as Generals Schuyler, Mifflin, Sullivan, Muhlenberg, Wayne, Greene and Knox. And he adds: "I have been peculiarly fortunate in my aides-de-camp, all young gentlemen of the best families, fortunes and education of this continent, but above all I should remain young Colonel Henry Lee."

While we are on the subject of General Lee's letters, permit me to recall one which made a great stir in Philadelphia society, written during a visit to Philadelphia in December, 1778, to the beautiful Miss Franks. The General, as I may have indicated, was not a stylish dresser, and it would appear that the young lady had accused him of wearing publicly a pair of shabby green breeches adorned with a large leather patch. When Lee heard the accusation, he wrote her an epistle in a sprightly vein. "Madame," he said, "when an officer of the respectable rank I bear is grossly traduced and calumniated, it is incumbent on him to clear up the affair to the world, with as little delay as possible. The spirit of defamation and calumny (I am sorry to say) is grown to a prodigious and intolerable height on this continent. If you had accused me of a design to procrastinate the war, or of holding a trea-

sonable correspondence with the enemy, I could have borne it; this I am used to; and this happened to the great Fabius Maximus. If you had accused me of getting drunk as often as I could get liquor, as two Alexander the Greats have been charged with the vice, I should perhaps have sat patient under the imputation, or even if you had given the plainest hints that I had stolen the soldier's shirts, this I could have put up with, as the great Duke of Marlborough would have been an example, or if you had contented yourself with asserting that I was so abominable a sloven as never to part with my shirt until my shirt parted with me, the anecdote of my illustrious namesake (Charles XII) of Sweden would have administered some comfort to me. But the calumny you have, in the fertility of your malicious wit, chosen to invent is of so new, so unprecedented and so hellish a kind as would make Job himself swear like a Virginia colonel. * * * Is it possible that Miss Franks should assert in the presence of these respectable personages, that I wore green breeches patched with leather? To convict you, therefore of the falsehood of this most diabolical slander, to put you to eternal silence (if you are not past all grace) and to cover you with a much larger patch of infamy than you have wantonly endeavored to fix on my breeches, I have thought proper, by the advice of three very grave friends (lawyers and members of Congress, of course excellent judges in delicate points of honor) to send you the said breeches, and with the consciousness of truth on my side to submit them to the most severe inspection and scrutiny."

It is plain, from this *jeu d'esprit,* of which I only quote a small part, that General Lee sent the offending breeches to Miss Franks. As for that lady, her sense of humour was at first equal to that of Lee; she looked upon the whole affair as a bit of witty fooling. But finally, it would appear, some one persuaded her that

the General's letter and the documentary evidence accompanying it were an insult. When Lee heard of this he wrote her a proper apology in which he graciously said: "Upon the honor of an honest man, if I had thought a single sentence of this trash could have given you uneasiness, I would sooner have put my hand into the fire than have written it."

I am sure Philadelphia was thrilled by this correspondence and by the brashness of Charles Lee, and that many were the stories about it that went the rounds of the tea tables and caused some of the matrons to shake their heads and declare that "the General was a sad wag, and no one ever knew, forsooth, what he would say or do next!"

In the fall of 1782, late September, General Lee came up to Philadelphia for a visit, and put up at an humble little inn, "The Sign of the Conestoga Wagon," which Joseph Jackson tells us, in his valuable history of "Market Street," was on the site of the present 410 Market Street. Philadephia did not flock to his doors; he must have looked a rather pathetic figure in his downfall, as he walked up and down High Street (as Market Street was then called) and was doubtless pointed out by happy fathers to their sons as the man who caused the serene Washington to lose his temper at Monmouth Court House. There was one old friend who was still faithful, however, and that was Colonel Eleazar Oswald, who had served under him in more glorious times. When Lee was taken down with a high fever, as he was two or three days after his arrival, it was Oswald who attended upon him and who heard the last words he uttered in his delirium. "Stand by me, my brave grenadiers!" Like Benedict Arnold, his last thoughts were of the army, to which he had once been an adornment.

He died on October 2, 1782, at the age of fifty-one, and while he died under a cloud, it can hardly be said, as

has been said, that he died literally without one friend. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* for the ninth of October has the following notice: "On Wednesday evening last, departed this life, after a short illness, * * * Charles Lee, Esq., Major-General in the Polish service, and formerly a major-general in the service of the United States. His remains were conducted on Friday morning, with military honors, from the City Tavern, attended by a large concourse of gentlemen of distinction and deposited in Christ Church yard."

There is no question but that Lee was buried with honors, and that many eminent persons went to the funeral services, among them the President of Congress and all the French visitors then in Philadelphia.

You may notice an apparent discrepancy in the record that the General died in the "Sign of the Conestoga Wagon" but was buried from the City Tavern. Joseph Jackson has a theory which probably clears up the matter. The City Tavern, he tells me, "was on the site of the United States Bonded Stores, on Second Street, west side, north of Walnut. It was at this time (1782) the principal public house in the city, the scenes of banquets and musicales, the headquarters of the political, business and other interests of the city. It very well might have been regarded a more fitting place for the funeral of a distinguished character than the very modest tavern on Market, where it is said Lee died."

As Lee's grave is unmarked, and I had no idea as to exactly where it was in the old yard of Christ Church, I wrote to the Rector, the Reverend Doctor Louis C. Washburn, who very kindly referred me to the book entitled "A Record of Inscriptions," etc., compiled by Edward L. Clark in 1864. On Page 13 is this entry: "The remains of Major General Charles Lee are supposed to rest beneath this spot." (The spot

indicated is just outside the church building on the south, by the west door) * * * "No stone marked his grave, but tradition placed it next to the grave of General Mercer near the *old* wall adjoining Church Alley. In 1861 Church Alley was ordered to be widened by action of our courts, thus cutting off about eight feet of the church yard, which is now occupied by the outer sidewalk. All the remains of those who had been interred in this strip of ground were carefully removed and deposited in new coffins immediately next to the Church building. The remains of General Lee were removed and re-interred at the spot designated." That is, between the first and second windows east of the southwest door of the church.

Perhaps you will think it rather curious and paradoxical that Charles Lee ended his earthly career in consecrated ground when I read you this clause from his last will and testament: "I desire most earnestly that I may not be buried in any church or church yard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting house, for since I have resided in this country I have kept so much bad company when living, that I do not choose to continue it when dead."

But for my part I deem General Lee very fortunate to have been buried among all those worthies of Christ Church whose ashes are reposing in the picturesque old yard, and I think he got a "good burying" (as *Sir Lucius O'Trigger* would call it) that he didn't deserve. I suppose if Lee had had his way, he would have been planted beside his dogs and horses down on his Berkeley estate in Virginia. One third of this estate, I may add, he left to Jacob Morris, of Philadelphia, one third to Evans Edwards, both his former aides, and one third between William Goddard of Baltimore and Colonel Oswald. The rest of his property went to his sister, Sidney Lee.

Before I finish my attempt to sketch Charles Lee's

stormy career, let me remind you that he once claimed to be the real author of the "Letters of Junius," and that his claims were given very grave consideration. To the present generation, the name of "Junius"—that mysterious master of political invective who once startled the world—to the present generation the name of "Junius" means little or nothing. The interest in his identity is purely academic. But it was not thus in the past, and hundreds of books or pamphlets were written to prove that this, that or some other person was the inscrutable "Junius." The older generation will understand that the "Letters" of "Junius" had a definite object—to discredit the ministry of the Duke of Grafton, which had been formed in October, 1768, when the great Lord Chatham was compelled by ill health to retire from office. "Junius" fought for the return to power of Chatham, who had recovered and was not on good terms with his successors. The letters are of interest to the student for three reasons: their political significance, their style and the mystery which still envelops their authorship—although the generally accepted theory now is that they were written by Sir Philip Francis. Nevertheless, it is worth noting, if only for a moment, that there lie mouldering by the walls of old Christ Church the remains of a man who once said, in effect: "I, Major-General Charles Lee, am Junius!"

The friend to whom he said this was Colonel Thomas Rodney, of Delaware. Now Lee was what we would nowadays call a highly picturesque bluffer, but Rodney was of a different type and his story, as far as it goes, is entitled to absolute credence. So when he published a letter on the subject in the Wilmington *Mirror,* dated Dover, February 1st, 1803, people believed the writer, however much they might distrust what Lee told him, for they knew Rodney as a gallant officer in the Revolution, an intimate friend of Washington, a delegate

to the Continental Congress in 1781 and later, and a brother of Cæsar Rodney, the signer of the Declaration who took the famous ride from Delaware to Philadelphia in order that he might arrive in time to make his colony safe for Independency.

"In the fall of 1773," writes Rodney, "not long after General Lee had arrived in America, I had the pleasure of spending an afternoon in his company, when there were no other persons present. Our conversation chiefly turned on politics, and was mutually free and open. Among other things, the letters of 'Junius' were mentioned, and General Lee asked me, who was conjectured to be the author of these letters? I replied, our conjectures here generally followed those started in England, but, for myself, I concluded, from the spirit, style, patriotism, and political information which they displayed, that Lord Chatham was the author; and yet there were some sentiments there that indicated his not being the author. General Lee immediately replied, with considerable animation, affirming that to his certain knowledge, Lord Chatham was not the author; neither did he know who the author was, any more than I did; that there was not a man in the world, no, not even Woodfall, the publisher, that knew who the author was; that the secret rested solely with himself, and forever would remain with him.

"Feeling in some degree surprised at this unexpected declaration, after pausing a little, I replied: 'No, General Lee, if you certainly know what you have affirmed, it can no longer remain solely with him; for certainly no one could know what you have affirmed but the author himself. Recollecting himself, he replied: 'I have unguardedly committed myself, *and it would be but folly to deny to you that I am the author;* but I must request that you will not reveal it during my life; for it never was nor never will be revealed by me to any other!' "

Soon after the publication of this letter, Thomas

Rodney obtained a Federal judgeship and went to Mississippi, where the town of Rodney was named in his honor, and it is a tradition in my family that he died quite convinced that Lee and "Junius" were one and the same. His letter was republished in the *St. James Chronicle,* of London, and created a very respectable commotion. Indeed, a certain Dr. Thomas Girdlestone, of Yarmouth, England, published in 1813 a book entitled: "Facts Tending to Show That General Lee was never Absent from This Country for Any Length of Time During the Years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and That He was the Author of Junius." It has for a frontispiece a copper plate portrait of Lee which is said to have been the best likeness of him extant, and which depicts him as a very scrawny, long-legged man, dressed in full uniform, with a huge nose and sardonic expression of countenance, and in front of him one of his favorite dogs—an animal that suggests a cross breed between a pomeranian and a black pig.

After trying to prove great similarity between the handwriting of Lee and "Junius," Dr. Girdlestone observes that the General was often in England when he was supposed to be on the continent, at the time that the Letters of "Junius" were appearing, and he says: "Lee supported an alibi not only by a series of fictitiously dated letters from different parts of the continent, but by occasional trips to Paris, and to other parts, where he could mix with the English, and pretend to be on his return from his Polish campaigns, or from such parts of Italy or France, as his health might have required him to visit."

In the course of a detailed argument, with which I shall not bore you, the author gives us an amusing glimpse of Lee which I may venture to quote. Girdlestone merely mentions it to prove that Lee was frequently in England during the summer of 1770. He says: "A person who is still living * * * perfectly recollects to have accompanied General Lee, Colonel

Butler and Sir Charles Davers to Rushbrooke Church, about May, 1770, as sponsors to his eldest son, Captain Charles Sydney Davers, * * * and that just as the baptism was finished, an ass came from the churchyard up to the font, which circumstance occasioned General Lee to make such ludicrous observations as could never be forgotten by those who had been present. * * * The person who was at the baptism declares that General Lee was moving from and to Rushbrooke the greatest part of the summer, that when at Rushbrooke he was constantly writing with books and papers before him, and that he was a terrible nuisance to the cook, for he had chosen the kitchen for his place to write in, and that his night cap and dressing gown were only taken off a few minutes before the dinner was ready to be served upon the table."

No wonder that Charles Lee was not a favorite with the ladies when he had such untidy habits. I am compelled to believe that Miss Franks spoke truth when she accused the General of having a patch on those green breeches.

As for Dr. Girdlestone, I have gone over his arguments very carefully, and find them far-fetched and inconclusive. I am inclined to share the popular opinion that Sir Philip Francis was "Junius."

Lee's faults, and particularly that vanity which was his undoing, brought their own punishment. He had hoped to supplant Washington and go down to the ages in the army of conquering heroes. Had he been content to be Washington's faithful lieutenant his name would have been inscribed on an imperishable roll of honor. But how different was the outcome. A disgrace by court-martial, treason, bitter disappointment, and now obscurity. If, perchance, his spirit ever revisits the glimpses of the moon, and looks in some night upon Christ Church yard, let him be thankful that he lies there in such good company, despite that sneering command in his last will and testament.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

TWO LETTERS OF GOVERNOR GEORGE THOMAS TO JOHN PENN. [Penn Manuscripts, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

Philad^{a}. Nov^{br}. 4th. 1740.

D^{r}. Sir

The Execution of his Majesty's Commands to raise a number of Men for the Expedition, the negotiating Bills for the payment of them, the providing Victuals & Transports for them, & attending their Discipline, added to the disputes I have had with the Assembly, have so engaged my whole time, that I think I may depend upon your excuse for not writing so often, as I should otherwise have done. It has been a tryal both of my Constitution & Temper. Whether I have conducted myself as I ought to have done, I leave to your Brother to inform you, who, by being upon the Spot, was enabled to form a true judgment both of my Conduct & Intentions. I am accused to the King, & Friends in England are to support the Assembly in all that they have done & said against me. The loss of the Government is one of the least Evils that is to befall me. I am really concerned, Sir, that I ever risqued my Character amongst such a low, sordid & hypocritical sett of People, & that is all the concern I have upon my Mind. As for the loss of the Government, I should esteem it a favour to be discharged from it; for I see it is neither possible to gain Credit or Money by it. As for the latter, I can solemly say, That I have expended above £1000 St^{g}. out of my own Fortune since I left England, besides what my attendance on L^{d} Baltimore's opposition cost me there. This therefore is principally intended to thank you for the appointment you were pleased to make of me, & to desire that you will provide a Successor by the next June, unless you shall be willing to release me from my agreement made with you in England. The Assembly have Deny'd to give me the usual Support, & the Perquisites of the whole Government do not exceed Seven Hundred pounds ℔ ann^{m}. at most, from whence it may be easily seen, that it must be an Injury to my Family to remain longer here. If you think fit however to consent to such a Release, I shall be willing to stay the four years out. I am not forgetful of the obligation I am under to give you twelve months notice of my intention to quit the Government; but I hope you will dispense with that, since another may be appointed by the time before mentioned. If I were to advise in regard to a future appointment, it should be rather to give a Salary to make your Governors independent, than to insist upon receiving any part of what they get, & to persuade one of your own Family to undertake it; tho even in that case, I can very well foresee, as much opposition & discontent, if not more, than even I have met with; since my strict & just attachment to your Family is not one of the least of my Crimes. Your Enemys, which all pass under the name of Friends, are grown wanton with too much liberty & are scheming to throw the Government into the King's hands.

I have given no orders to M^{r}. Dunbar this year & shall wait your resolution on the Substance of this Letter. If you consent to my leaving the Government at the time mentioned, I shall be thankful for the earlyest notice of it you can possibly give me, either by the way of Boston or N: York, that I may prepare my self accordingly, by removing from this place some short time before I am superseded, that I may not be subjected to the Insults of my Enemies here & be put under the necessity of returning them in such a manner, as may prove

troublesome to me. Let me leave the place when I will, no Man will have it in his power to reproach me with Avarice & Injustice, & I beleive few Governors have more Friends amongst the best People & those that are most truly your Friends. With your Brother in particular I have lived in the greatest Harmony.

I am extreamly concerned, that M^{r}. Paris should suffer for his attachment to your Family, & his Friendship for me. It was what I foresaw would happen upon the Election of this sett of malitious, hot headed Men; but the Country in the end will be the greatest Sufferers by it. I wish I had it in my power to make him any amends. I am lately inform'd, that M^{r} Charles is joind with M^{r}. Patridge to carry on the Complaint against me. If this be true, it will be a good evidence to Friends in England of the Intentions of this Assembly, & a proof that I am not the only Person struck at.

This Province is in a very dangerous Situation in case of a French War, & I very heartily wish your Interests may neither be affected here or in England by the Assemblys refusing to do anything for its defence. As they have attacked me & I have been obliged to trace the grounds of their dislike [illegible] to my Proposition for Defence; but I have not failed mentioning your Instructions to me on this head; to shew that all has been done by you, which is usual for the King to do, in regard to a Militia.

As your Brother informs me, That he has wrote to you & his Friends in England very fully on all that has passed here, & sent you Copys of the Assemblys Proceedings from time to time, & as I am very much engaged in preparing my Account to be transmitted to the Navy Board by this Ship I must conclude with the sincerest assurance of my being with very great regard & Esteem

D^{r} Sir

Y^{r}. most ob^{t}. humb^{le} Serv^{t}.

Geo: Thomas.

Philad^{a}. March 25th. 1741.

Dear Sir/

It will be unnecessary to tell you how acceptable your Letters were, which advised me of the general approbation of my Conduct in the affair of the Levies, or that I have a very sensible pleasure in the Commendations given to your Brother, for the part he took in it. As I had nothing in view but the serving his Majesty & the Nation, in a matter of so great Concern to both, I was very sollicitous, that some part of your Family should join in shewing the Province in a Light, as advantageous, as if it were under the immediate Government of the Crown.

The People, who call themselves Friends here, have been extreamly mortified; but our worthy Attorney General has raised their spirits again within these two days, by another *Rumour of a Probability of a Peace* & that their Affairs will from thence take another turn in England. In short nothing that has happened yet will affect their Interest here, & if you do not part with them, they will in the end part with you; for they publickly avow their Design to throw the Government into the hands of the Crown, & from thence, the more Confusion the better, as that is the most probable way of bringing it about. I wonder you should take so little notice of their refusing to do any thing for the Defence of the Province, considering that your Honour, as well as the Kings is at stake; not to say any thing of the Danger of this City, in case of a Rupture with France. I owne it is far up a River; but Pilots are so easily procured at the Capes, that One Privateer of Force, under our present Circumstances, will run no risque in attempting it, or I think scarcly fail of succeeding. Our Military Spirit runs high indeed at present & I believe two hundred are now expert at their Arms, but they will soon grow tired of it,

& with out a Law will be like a Rope of Sand. It is a malancholy consideration for such as have their All in this Town, & I can discover, that they will not submit much longer to it with Patience but will apply for a Remedy; which I think it is as much for your interest, as theirs, to join in.

Altho I have gained a Victory, I shall be obliged to quit the Field of Battle with precipitation, if no publick Censure from the Ministry or Incapacity from the Parliament obliges our present Governors to a Submission; and that, or falling in with them, must be the case of all your Friends. There are, I confess several of the People called Quakers very much in your Interest, but these are the People who most wish for such an Incapacity, or at least as much as any others.

As I have talked to your Brother very fully on my own Affairs, to avoid giving you any unnecessary trouble, I refer you to him. I have hitherto had some reason to complain of being obliged to support my Publick Character at my own Expence & I am so sick of the Hypocrisy, Calumny & sordid Disposition of these People, that no Reward should tempt me to stay amongst them; but what that would not tempt me to do, my regard for you & my long personal Friendship with your Brother will, & I will endeavour to content my self to bear any thing rather than baulk his Inclinations to see his Friends in England; which his Heart seems to be much sett upon.

I thank you for your Present, & as I am no Miser, have allowed many to partake with me in the pleasure. I defie you to send me such another if you can. I owne it is easily understood, but I have taken great pains to persuade Will: Allen to write Notes upon it, for the benefit of such Ladies as are curious & do not understand the Latin Names of Places, as well as of some Gentleman. I read a Section of it to a certain Lady by a way of Experiment, & I do assure you, she listned with great Attention, & when I told her, it was arrant Bawdy, she was amazed, & pretended to snatch it out of my hand, to throw it into the Fire. May your Voyage to Marryland be prosperous, & your trade there be more profitable as well as more pleasant than that for Pins & Needles.

I am
Dr. Sir
yr faithful & affect. humb^{le} Serv^{t}.
Geo: Thomas.

Book Notices.

THE MCCARTHYS IN EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY. By Michael J. O'Brien. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1921. 8vo, pp. 323.

There is no reason why the Irish-blooded Americans, like Americans of other races, should not be given a place in the history of this country. They are, however, themselves to blame if their people have been relegated to a place of no importance in American history, for among the deficiencies of information connected with their early settlers, nothing is more noticeable than the absence of biographies of individual Irishmen or their descendants, or genealogies of American families of Irish blood. It is unfortunate that the Irish in America have not shown greater industry in this respect.

Mr. O'Brien, who is the historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society, has investigated the early history of the Irish in America more thoroughly than any other historian. In the course of his researches he has accumulated a mass of information relating to the famous Irish family of McCarthy, represented in this country since as far back as 1635. He has made use of this material in an exceedingly valuable book about the McCarthys in Colonial and Revolutionary times. The book is not strictly a genealogy, only a history of a famous family, but no attempt has been made to extend it beyond the eighteenth century. An illuminated coat of arms of the McCarthys is an attractive illustration in the book.

Vol. XLV APRIL, 1921 No. 178

DEC 19 1921
UNIV. OF MICH.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
FOR SUBSCRIBERS

PHILADELPHIA
1921

For Sale at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. Price 75 cents per Number, or $3.00 per year

Entered at the Post-Office at Philadelphia as Second-class matter.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Journal of Col. John May of Boston, 1789 101

Thomas Rodney. By *Simon Gratz, Esq.* (*Continued*) 180

Notes and Queries 204

Book Notice 204

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MAGAZINE.

Copies of all the volumes of this MAGAZINE can be obtained at the Hall of The Historical Society, bound by Hyman Zucker, in the very best manner, in the style known as Roxburgh, half cloth, uncut edges, gilt top, for $4.25 each and the postage. They will be furnished to subscribers in exchange for unbound numbers, in good condition, on the receipt of $1.25 per volume and the postage.

PRINTED BY PATTERSON & WHITE CO.

THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XLV. 1921. No. 2.

JOURNAL OF COL. JOHN MAY, OF BOSTON, RELATIVE TO A JOURNEY TO THE OHIO COUNTRY, 1789.

Introduction.

Readers of the volume entitled "Col. May's Journeys to the Ohio Country in 1788–'89" have noticed that, while there is a quite full & minute journey relating to the year first named, there is none of the year '89, but only some few letters. When the Journal & Letters of Col. May were published in the Fall of 1873 by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, it was the belief of the editor that he had in his possession all papers bearing on that portion of his ancestor's life. In that impression he was mistaken. There was then in existence, in the library of Prof. Edward Tuckerman, of Amherst College, another of his grandsons, a journal kept by Col. May in '89. This journal came into the hands of the professor through his mother, Mrs. Sophia Tuckerman (3d daughter of John & Abigail May); & that at times he had thoughts of publishing it; but the multiplication of other cares & duties, and absorption in inquiries connected with other pursuits prevented. Accordingly the MS. was left unused. Meanwhile, illness supervening, necessitated a suspension of all literary labor, & again compelled

Professor Tuckerman to seek in European travel the relief which a tired brain required.

On returning to his native land, later in the season, Professor Tuckerman did not long delay to apprise the writer of the MS. in his possession, nor fail, in the exercise of his wonted kindness, to tender it to him, to be used in such manner as might be desirable. In this way the writer finds himself in possession, altogether unexpectedly, of papers which in 1873 he did not know to exist, & thus enabled to trace Col. May's journeyings & experiences in '89 with as much distinctness and detail as those of '88.

Availing of the opportunity which the printing of the Journal of '89 furnishes, he uses it to correct an error into which—naturally enough perhaps—he fell, in the absence of all tradition, & all testimony, excepting such as could be gathered from the insufficient documents then in his possession. The error indicated arose from the incorrect dating of a letter (refer to page 119th of the book published at Cincinnati in 1873) which is "Baltimore, April 9th." It should have been May 9th, as comparison with the MS. journal, since brought to light, shows. The theory, therefore, which is introduced to explain the supposed journeyings of Col. May for that season is entirely set aside.

Another error, found at the end of the second paragraph, of the Biographical Sketch, may as well be corrected here as anywhere. It is there stated, erroneously, that Jonathan Sabin, who married Mary, sister of Col. John, was brother to Silas Sabin, who married Prudence, another sister; whereas the relationship between them was so slight that neither of them knew what it was.

Before passing to other matters, we will correct one or two other little errors, made in the setting up of the type. The wrong insertion of a comma gives Dr. Geo. W. May three daughters, instead of two, their

names being, respectively, Sophia Catharine & Juliana Gales. The name of their mother too should be corrected from Catharine F. Lee to Catharine H. Lee.

Another mistake of a similar nature, on page 147 the wrong insertion of a comma, converts three individuals named into four. The passage referred to *should* read "I wrote to him, Nabby, Lucretia Dana, & others:" *i.e.,* strike out the comma between the names Lucretia & Dana.

On page 20, for Col. Richard Hatt read Col. Richard Platt.

Col. John May's Journal of 1789.

Thursday, 23rd April, 1789. Having arranged & settled my affairs at Boston, and shipped goods for Baltimore—in the schooner Rosanna, Jos. Field, Captain—at 7½ in the morning, I left the town, in company with Mr. William Breck, on a tour to Marietta, in the Ohio Country, and Kentucky. In two hours & a half arrived at Coleman's Tavern in Dedham, thirteen miles from Boston, where we oated our horses, & tarried an hour for the arrival of Dr. Downer. Set off from this place at 11 o'clock, and at 12 arrived at Clark's, Medfield, where we dined. Dr. Downer came, and made our company complete. Left Medfield at 2, P.M. and arrived at Taft's in Uxbridge, forty three miles from Boston, at sunset, where we lodged.

Friday, 24th. Rose at 5 o'clock. It rained so very hard from S. E. went to bed again, & slept an hour and half; then got up for the day; but the rain increasing prevented our traveling till afternoon, when it cleared up. We set off, and arrived at Pomfret, Conn. at 7 o'clock, P. M. Lodged at sister Sabin's, and had a good night's sleep.

Saturday, 25th. Rose at 6, A. M. Though the weather was cold & lowering, we pressed on our journey. Breakfast at Dr. Lord's, dinner at Windham, & put up

for the night at Colchester, ninety eight miles from Boston. The day has been a very blustering one.

Sunday, 26th. Rose at 4, A. M. Oated our horses, & were off at 5 o'clock. In three hours we were at Moodus (?) Connecticut river, fourteen miles from our starting place. Here we breakfasted, & on account of the height of the wind, could not cross the river. Staid at Green's tavern on the East side, & kept the Sabbath. However, at half past three in the afternoon, we crossed, without much difficulty, went on through Durham woods, and at 7 in the evening, put up at Elliott's, where our lodgings were good.

Monday, 27th. Rose at 4, A. M. and pursued our journey. Breakfasted at Brown's in New Haven. Rested two hours, then pushed on for Fairfield, where we arrived at 5 in the evening. Put up at Penfield's, where we had excellent entertainment for the night. Nothing remarkable has happened since our departure from Boston, only the stage started an hour before we did; and we are now twenty-three miles ahead,—one hundred sixty-seven miles from Boston by the road we have taken.

Tuesday, 28th. Rose at the usual hour, after a very poor night. Owing to fatigue, & perhaps eating too hearty a supper, I had a most distressing dream, all about my family; but I was little like Nebuchadnezzar, and in the morning could not remember near all of it. Having no soothsayer or Daniel at hand was obliged to pursue the journey without an interpretation of dream. Arrived at Wentworth, thirteen miles, by 7½ o'clock, and here breakfast. Thence went on to Hunt's at Mamaroneck and there lodged comfortably.

Wednesday, 29th. Off at the usual hour, and rode fourteen miles to Kingsbridge. Breakfasted at Wortle's. This is fifty miles from Penfield's in Fairfield, and fifteen from New York, at which place we arrived at 1 o'clock, P. M. My old friend Hardy being full,

we went to Hackerd's. In great haste wrote a few lines to my better half, by post; and, being much fatigued, went to bed early. Two hundred thirty two miles from Boston.

Thursday, 30th. Being in snug harbor, I lay & slept till 6 o'clock, then rose, for the purpose of attending to business. Arranged all my papers, & went out to execute them, but the parade of the day beginning, found I could do nothing. Therefore "followed the multitude," not "to do evil," but good, so joined with the rest in the great business on hand.

At 11 o'clock, the different corps in the city assembled, consisting of one company of horse, one of artillery, two of grenadiers, and one of light infantry, with two battalion companies. At 12 noon, they were formed in line. At one the procession was in motion. The horse in front, then the Committee of the day, the High Sheriff & his attendants, after them the President & Vice President elect, the Senate & House of Representatives, civilians, the artillery, grenadiers, &c. In due time, the President appeared in the gallery of the portico, introduced by the Vice President, & here took the oath of office. The ceremonial over, the procession reformed, & marched off to St. Paul's church, where, with other observances, a sermon was delivered by Bishop Provost. At this time a dish of good food being more to my taste than one of theology or politics, I retired to my own proper dinner,—and there was well entertained.

The evening outshone at least the day. The fire-works displayed at the Bowling Green very fine. The Spanish ambassador's house illuminated in splendid style, the French minister's also elegantly, Federal Hall likewise in a highly pleasing manner, and many other buildings. An allegorical picture of the United States, illuminated, excelled them all. The movable fire-works were displayed to great advantage to an

amazing concourse. A more civil, earnestly attentive & orderly set of people I never before observed on any similar occasion. Going back to my lodgings a little after 10 o'clock, & going to bed at once, I did not sleep well. Too much of the dust that was raised during the day got into my lungs, & brought on an asthmatic attack, which the air of the chamber was by no means fitted to allay, as to all appearance it had been breathed over many times.

Friday, May 1st. Having little comfort in bed, was glad enough to rise. Attended to business, & by 4 in the afternoon it was completed. But the wind prevented our crossing the ferry, else we should have set off for Philadelphia. As it was, stayed & slept at my old quarters, till

Saturday, 2nd.; when at 5, A. M. rose, paid bills, &c, took breakfast, & then left in the ferry boat from the Great Battery for Elisabeth-town, where, after an agreeable sail of one hour & forty minutes, over a distance of fifteen miles, arrived. Dr. Downer had business here which detained us two hours. Slept at Brunswick. Here we had one gill of spirits with water, a bottle of cider, tea and trimmings for supper, beds to lodge in, hay & oats for our horses, and paid for all 17/2, lawful money. This the most extravagant house we have met with.

Sunday, 3rd. Off from Brunswick at 5½ A. M. and rode ten miles in one hour & two-thirds, when we breakfasted & rested our horses for one hour; then proceeded on across the Delaware, at half past one, and arrived at Bristol at half past three, where we put up for the night. Had an excellent dinner & good lodgings.

Monday, 4th. Off again, for Philadelphia this time, at 5½ A. M. At 7½ stopt at Waterman's and breakfasted. Thence to Philadelphia, where we arrived at 10½, A. M. Stopped & dined. Took a walk around the

city, which found considerably altered & grown larger. Several handsome buildings erected lately. General training here today. A more miserable militia my eyes surely never beheld. In some of the companies, the rank & file not more than fifteen, & they the refuse of creation. Some contrast this with 1775. Then there were five battalions of uniformed troops; but now only one, & that artillery rather loosely disciplined. At 3, P. M. took our departure for Baltimore. By travelling three hours steadily, we arrived at Chester, where we slept.

Tuesday, 5th. Started at 5¼, A. M. & were at Wilmington at 8, where we breakfasted. At 9 were in the saddle again. Dined at Hollinsworth's at the head of the Elk, slept at Palmer's at Charlestown, at the head of Chesapeak Bay. The house we are in is full and running over. How we are to lodge must be determined by & bye. Well, at 10 o'clk. went to bed, in a chamber with four beds, & without any ventilator. I soon found I could not breathe air used so many times over. Got up, opened the only window six inches, and then tried to sleep again; but the avenues through which my lungs were filled had choked up, & the air continued so dopy I was obliged to decamp. I went into a lower room, & sat up all night. Dozed about two hours, but poorly. At 4 hauled on my boots, & began to prepare for journeying, & by blustering round made out to get away by 5 o'clock.

Wednesday, 6th. Were off for Susquehanna. It is a cold, windy morning, while yesterday was very warm. Am inclined to think, the seasons are hardly more forward here than at Boston. Asparagus is but just come, grain is backward, the trees beginning to blow, & the oaks to burst their buds. The brooks out here are not so high as they were last year, at this time. In crossing the Susquehanna had a windy time, but got safely over. Breakfasted on the West side, dined at Chind's and slept at Stamk's in Baltimore.

Thursday, 7th. Rose at 6 o'clock, with a heavy headache, & to ease myself walked about the room softly for several hours. Many wagons in town, but none going out very far in the direction in which we are bound. Shall be obliged to tarry here several days, which will be tedious enough, attending to settling our accounts. Visited Mrs. Boyd, delivered letters, &c. and went to bed at 10, and slept middling well.

Friday, 8th. Rose at 5, and busily employed settling with the naval officer, & procuring teams to transport our effects, but money being scarce, the people want the more, and will not wagon so cheaply as they did last year. Therefore, have not engaged any as yet, & think it probable we shall not till next week. Did, however, at 3 o'clock this afternoon, engage five wagons, to take our effects to Shippensburg, a distance of 90 miles, at £3 per ton. Great exertions to load five tons of small packages in so short a time. We completed it, however, by sunset, & young Mr. Downer went on with the teams.

Saturday, 9th. Spent the forepart of this day settling accounts, drafting articles of agreement, & signing them. The afterpart, spent in selling linn shoes, 128 pair, at I.F. for 3/ per pair amounting to

	£″	s″	d	
	19″	4″	0.8	Ddg. From
shovels	19″	4″	0	
Clover seed, to amount	7″	5″	9	
Two casks cheese	12″	3″	4	
Keg & charge (?)	0″	18″	6	
	58″	15″	7	

Mr. Williams has paid on my account

	£″	s″	d
	40″	17″	8
So that he owes a balance of	17″	17″	11
	58″	15″	7

This balance I directed him to forward to Mrs. May, at Boston, by the first conveyance. Visited Mrs. Boyd, & drank tea with Mrs. B. May. Wrote one letter to Mrs. May & another to Mr. Jon^{a}. Freeman, & then to bed.

Sunday, 10th. Slept till 6½, then rose, washed up, wrote a letter to brother Joseph, & attended to other matters. It was so excessively rainy, I did not go to meeting. Dined with Mr. Jos. Williams, at 4 o'clock, delivered my letters for Boston to Capt. Field, who set sail immediately, drank tea with Mrs. B. May, supped at lodgings, & went to bed at 11 o'clk. The air being cross branded, slept poorly.

Monday, 11th. At 5 arose, attended to a little business, & at 8 took my departure from Baltimore, & stood for the wilderness. Travelled 41 miles, & slept at Squire Sherman's, where, though the entertainment was very good, slept poorly.

Tuesday, 12th. Set off at 5½, & breakfasted at Hanover, a pretty village of about one hundred houses. We are now on a new road from Baltimore to Shippensburg, & find good travelling, settled with Dutch farmers along the way, most of whom are wealthy. At the house where I lodged last night, viz. Sherman's, quite a large business is going on. He has extensive barns, makes 10 hogsheads of cider yearly, 8 hogsheads of cider royal, distilling also whiskey-cider & peach-brandy in great abundance. The peach brandy as good as any from France. In fact, he is making money many ways, & very fast. Dined today at Clark's, at the foot of Blue Mountain; then crossed Black Gap, a very difficult place; but by going through it we saved eleven miles of road. We arrived at Capt Kippe's at sunset, where we slept.

Wednesday, 13th. Yesterday being a fatiguing day, & having no special business, I laid abed in a large chamber, 40 x 20, & 11 ft. high, till 6½ A. M. The air

in this chamber the best I have found since leaving Boston. At 8 our goods arrived in excellent order. Here we unloaded, and paid £14″ 06s″ 6d, to the Baltimore wagoners.

4″ 10″ 0 , to Capt. Field

0″ 12″ 0 , storage, besides a duty, of which I am doubtful.

Shall be hindered here sometime for wagons, as people are much engaged with their spring work. Last Friday an express went through this place from Pittsburg for New York with intelligence that a party of Indians had fallen on some settlers at Grave Creek & killed five; and, on their way back, one at Marietta. These devils never will be easy, until they are extirpated. We are now 140 miles from Philadelphia, & 160 from Fort Pitt. To bed at 10 o'clock, & had good sleep till morning, which was a great refreshment.

Thursday, 14th. We were off this morning at 10 o'clock for Chamberstown, a distance of ten miles; and, as it rained hard last night, the roads were heavy. I took this detour to procure wagons, but failed of success. Could not engage any at a less price than 28/ per cwt. from this to Pittsburg, or Summerell's ferry—a price I did not choose to give. Chamberstown is a very pretty country town, containing about 150 houses, with a population mostly Dutch. Shippensburg is nearly as large, & so of several other towns of the vicinity. Oh, how tedious this waste of time waiting for wagons! I am fearful my patience will not hold out so well as it did last year. Wind has been at N. E. these three days, attended with rain. Went to bed at 10.

Friday, 15th. After a sound sleep, rose at 6. Wind N. E. weather lowering & disagreeable. No wagons engaged, time hangs heavily on my hands, & I am at a loss for business or amusement, I confess. So here goes, to kill time. Method of making whiskey. Take

1½ bushel of coarse ground rye meal, & put it in a hogshead that will hold 110 gallons. Nearly fill it up with blood warm water, & put in 3 quarts of yeast to ferment it. Let it stand & work for three days, and when it becomes stale, put it in the distil. This must have a cover of wood, with a hole in the middle of it to put the puddle in, in order to keep a stirring until the mixture boils, then put the still head on, and catch the spirit. If it is done properly, you obtain 2½ gals. proof liquor, or 5 gals. to a bushel, which generally sells at 2/6 per gal. this makes 7/6 for a bus. and requires the labor of one man to make 9 gals per day. They generally have a small still through which they run the whiskey a second time; & this they call doubling it, but I should rather say, rectifying it.

To make Yeast. Take ½ peck of good malt, & put over the fire with 4 or 5 gals. water. Let it boil a little time, then put in a keg with one head out, and a little emp'tings, or yeast, to set the fermenting process agoing. Thus you may obtain good yeast, to be used as above.

Saturday, 16th. At 10 this morning, Mr. Breck & myself set off for Pittsburg, a distance of — miles. We crossed the North Mountain, & dined at Skinner's; then crossed the Path Valley & the Tuscarora Mountain, & slept at Bird's, Fort Littleton. In my journal of last year I gave a more particular description of this combination of mountains; but in my present state am in no mood to describe them again.

Sunday, 17th. Mounted our horses at 5½, & went to the foot of Sideling Hill to breakfast, where our horses fared much better than we did. We crossed the Sideling Ridge & Juniata, & dined at Martin's, on veal cutlet & trout; thence to Bedford & oated. Here we fell in with a Dutchman who undertook to pilot us over Will's hill. This route would save us 3½ miles in a distance of 8 miles; and although the sun was short

of an hour high, we undertook it. It seemed necessary to go this way as it avoided several creeks too deep for a horse to pass without swimming. This hill might well be called a mountain, as it is about three miles over, and at least one mile high, the most rocky place my eyes ever beheld. However, we began with resolution, & made with all our might for the top. We scrambled along up for fully an hour, when at length, tired out, we attained the summit.

The prospect looking down was worse than it was coming up. The sun was below the horizon, & black night approaching left no time for parley or poetry; therefore, we cast ourselves off, and, in about three quarters of an hour, tumbled to the bottom. Then made the best of our way, sometimes in a brook, sometimes by the side of it, through thick brush, this for better than half an hour, when we reached McGaggay's and, tired out completely, went to rest. Here observe, that when we were on the top of Will's hill we had a most magnificent view, allways; we actually overlooked the Alleghany mountains on one hand & the North mountains on the other.

Monday, 18th. We were off this morning at 6 o'clock. The hill we passed over last evening lying in the East prevented the sun's making his appearance till that time. When I mounted my horse I felt as if all bones & no sinews, very stiff indeed. Rode 8 miles to breakfast, & then 14 more to where Mr. Breck made his dinner on milk. I felt too poorly to eat any thing. The road we have traversed today is in the glades altogether, & extremely bad, the horses frequently mired up to their bellies. In crossing the Alleghany mountains, the trees for the most part, I observed, had not begun to leaf out, though the wild plums were in full bloom, & just about as forward as they were last year when I passed,—17 days earlier than this. Everything bespeaks the season to be nearly three weeks later than last year's.

Tuesday, 19th. Having arisen at 5, we pressed on our journey. Breakfasted at the foot of Laurel mountain, at the house of one S——'s, where everything was so sluttish, that my appetite was not keen enough to overcome the disgust. These mountainous regions still full of the chill of winter. There was considerable frost last night, & I rode all the morning in my cantsloper.* Put up at Noel's where we slept tolerably, although there were eight persons in the same room.

Wednesday, 20th. Set out for Noel's at 6 o'clock, rode 8 miles, & breakfasted at the worst house I have entered yet. Such a slut, such a hog stye! We travelled 5 miles more, & then had arrived at Summerell's ferry, which is the head of navigation on these Western waters. We crossed, & put up at Summerell's. Here we must tarry a couple of days, to rest & clean up. This might be made a pretty place of business, but the people do not seem to understand it. The inhabitants had rather live in a very poor way than take a little pains to have it otherwise. Slept pretty well, in a high room—charming—open to the air—clean & pure.

Thursday, 21st. A rainy morning. Wind from the S. W. & cold. Kept abed till 7, then arose, & washed at a living spring from the mountain, where it comes out as big as one's thigh. Then had a notable breakfast of coffee, bacon, mackerel, bread & butter, & buckwheat cakes. Staid here, & dined; and at 3 o'clock set out for Redstone, a distance of 16 miles up the Monongahela, which place we reached at sunset, having rode it in one stage, & were well tired. The country through which we have passed is called the Forks of Youghogany, & is thinly settled; but the best land I ever beheld. I have but two faults to find with it.

---

* *Cantsloper.* This word, spelled also *Kentsloper* and *Khansloper*, occurs several times in Col. May's Journals. It was probably some sort of *slopper*, or outside garment, for turning rain.

First, hill in great abundance & extremely rich; and, second, so heavily timbered that it would make one's heart ache to think of clearing it. We put up at Tannery Hills, a very good tavern, where I had a good night. Yesterday, the snow was two inches thick on the Laurel mountains, so say two travellers; and there was not a little frost this morning at this place, Redstone.

Friday, 22nd. A pleasant but frosty morning. A Mr. Niel has just now caught a sturgeon, 5 ft. long, & will weigh 60 lbs. He is a clumsy ugly looking fellow, with a skin as rough as that of our dog fish. There are two sorts of sturgeon in the waters. The other kind is a handsomer fish; but I have no desire to eat of either of them. This place quite small, not more than fifty houses, but a prodigious thoroughfare for travellers into Kentucky & the Western Country. Not less than fifteen thousand souls have taken their departure hence this summer. Since I was here last year two kinds of birds, unknown before, have come to inhabit here. One a delightful little red fellow, with black wings & a blue bill, who sings also agreeably; the other a kind of mack-ll gull which dwells on the waters, with dark body & white wings, something resembling a church minister in his robes. As to the seasons, either they are altered or I am, for I have been almost frozen this three weeks. In fact vegetation speaks the same way. Somehow, a change has come over me, & things do not appear so bright & beautiful as they did last year. But one's feelings cannot change the real state of things. This country must be of immense value in time. This season is an extraordinary one, & my feelings are influenced by times and seasons, as much as they by causes I know not of. [Here follow in the original several lines written in some sort of cypher, which after repeated attempts, the editor finds himself unable to decypher.] There are three stores in this place which take con-

siderable money, but more produce, which again is sold for cash to people from Marietta, or bound to Kentucky.

Saturday, 23d. At 9 this morning we left Redstone —a beautiful, pleasant day. We lost our way soon after starting, & wandered about for an hour, but came out all right at last. At sunset we arrived at Kirkendal's, thoroughly tired out, & took for a sleeping place an old log house, with three beds on the floor, on which eight people slept. I was awakened often by various noises, once by the barking of dogs & the howling of wolves.

Sunday, 24th. Rose early on a pleasant morning. Vegetation is much more forward here than it is forty miles back. I hold to my opinion that the season is not so forward here as in New England. The people are almost frightened by the cold weather, & its long continuance. After breakfast, my landlord took me out to view his plantations. He had a field of wheat of 25 acres, 18 of excellent rye, another of 16 acres oats, & a large one of corn. He has besides a good stone mill, a saw-mill, a whiskey-mill, & several out houses. He may be called a rich man. Nevertheless, he treats himself the worst of all, for he lives in a house not much better than a stye. Question, how much better is a man than a—I don't say a sheep —but than another sort of animal, less savory surely when he is alive? At this place we staid, & kept Sunday.

Monday, 25th. Night before last, we had a touch of the *aurora borealis,* which in this country is the sure forerunner of rain; and at 1 in the morning it set in, & continued to rain, without intermission, till 12 at noon. Yesterday week the rivers were higher than ever before known to the white inhabitants, now they are as low as they ever sink. Was rapid their rise and fall.

Soon as the rain ceased, we were off. Arrived at Marcus Hulins a little before sunset. Put up at Elliott's.

Tuesday, 26th. Spent the day at Pittsburg. Found money affairs here at a low ebb. Everybody unwilling to part with money but very anxious to get it. You cannot buy anything without putting money in hand, nor sell it & receive your pay back.

Wednesday, 27th. At 9 o'clock, this morning, Mr. Breck & myself left Elliott's, crossed the Monongahela to Pittsburg, & thence Mr. Breck departed for Greensburg, a town on the road to Philadelphia, about 30 miles from Pitt, to intercept, if he could, the wagons & turn them to Redstone, while I took a road to the left in order to meet them at Cherry's Mills, and turn them the same way (if there). We were led to this movement by the necessity of raising money, & for other reasons.

Lodged at night at one Carpenter's, in a log cabin. Through the night, it thundered, lightened, & rained incessantly. I was never in a worse situation in my life. Slept but little, & rose the first chance. The weather then clear, but myself little rested. No rest, however, to the sole of my foot as yet. I must climb the Chestnut Ridge again.

Thursday, 28th. A clear morning, but a cold & cloudy day. Some allowance to be made for my situation,—in the region of clouds. At 2 o'clock put up at George Antford's, where matters & things much too promiscuous for my taste. The confusion crazes me. Such a port as this worse than the stormy seas. I must up & away. The rains of last night have washed out the roads, raised the rivers in the usual style, & generally turned up Jack. Not a word can I hear of the wagons. This life of suspense, oh, it is like death to me! It is true I have not been totally idle. Such a wild goose chase as I have been on! Have visited Summerell's, Redstone, Elizabeth's town, Fort Pitt, &

Greensburg, & now at the S. W. foot of Laurel Mountain. Would to God I was out of this business, & so far on my way home. But the tug of the oar, I fear, is but just begun. The plan of the voyage was good, if only everybody else had not done the same. When at Baltimore & Shippensburg I had information that a number of people had gone out on the same plan. Arrived at Redstone, we found that a vast many had gone or were going. So that the trade will be entirely overdone. The general agreement is, that Marietta is a pretty place; but there is no money nor produce there for purposes of exchange. Therefore, it will not do to take our effects there, unless we are ready for a dead loss. If we carry them to Pittsburg it will be about the same, for a condition of things quite as bad is there. Redstone seems the only alternative, & that a poor one. However, I am not without hope that by industry & frugality we may save our property; but the prospect of gain is poor.

Friday, 29th. Although in a perfect bedlam, had a middling night. Rose at 4 o'clock, & found a cold, lowering morning. Still waiting for the wagons. With nothing to do, my harp hung on the willows; and, surrounded with devils, I am to be pitied. For 48 hours I have eaten nothing. There is not anything that my stomach does not nauseate at. If it does not come to soon I must go home—to the long one whence there is no returning. My place of sojourn is at the foot of Laurel Mountains,—not a house within five miles, except a little cabin. Our inmates are all Dutch excepting the beasts. She who was mistress is dead. The old man, a daughter of eighteen, two hired women a little older, three hired men, a number of children, beside a bear & five dogs make up our bedlam, as aforesaid. This day pulled off my underwaist coat, not that I was too warm, but I had worn it since the 23d of April, & was afraid to wear it longer without washing;

and I am now considering the question whether I shall take cold without it. Oh that I was where I would be, & then would I be where I should be! Hope, in the careless ways in which I am obliged to live, & exposed to all sorts of company, I have not caught the i—ch. I have been in danger, I suppose, many times. At 2 o'clock this day fell in with a gentleman from Chamberstown bound for Pittsburg. I inquired of him respecting Dr. Downer. He informed me that the wagons set off from Chamberstown on Friday last, & although he had driven fast, he could not overtake them, & that they had taken the old Pennsylvania road. This made it necessary for me to throw myself across the country, 15 miles North, to Greensburg, to meet them, or at least to look up Mr. Breck. At this crisis of affairs, it was against me that my underclothing was in the wash. However, I bribed the women to leave their other employment, & put my matters in a way to be made up. In two hours time it was done, & at half past 4, P. M. I left my comfortless lodgings, & rode with as much speed as my horse would carry me eight miles to Laffingis's where the entertainment was good. Here I fell in with Col. Parry Sheriff of the County of Westmoreland. He was a great talker, & kept it a going till bed time, when we slept together.

Saturday, 30th—Rose at 4 o'clock, & in half an hour was off. In three hours arrived at Greensburg, where I found friend Breck, but he had not heard a word from the Doctor.

After breakfast he set off for Hanna's town in search of the wagons. A dreary experience have I had of it this time; truly sick am I of the expedition; as well as weary & worn out in mind & body. On this long & fatiguing journey I have ridden upwards of 800 miles since I left Boston. Hope my land tacks are almost over for the present, & that I shall behold the face of the doctor before summer. At night slept on

oat chaff, & rested quite well. This town of Greensburg, a county town three years old, has thirty odd log houses in it, and, I am of opinion, there are not thirty beds in the whole place. Mr. Breck not returned.

Sunday, 31st. It being Sunday, called in New England a day of rest, & being disposed to keep it in that way, did not rise till 7. At 9 breakfasted with Col Parry on venison steaks, quails, tea, &c. At 11 Mr. Breck returned & brought intelligence of the wagons in good order, nine miles from this place. Hope I shall see them tonight. Have just spoken with a young woman whose husband has recently returned from Wheeling. She says that the savages have killed six people at that place, and that the inhabitants are moving away from some places, & fortifying in others; also that the fear of attacks from the Indians has prevented many from planting corn. From this & other reports I have heard, am of opinion there will be an Indian war. These reports were so common last year, & so little come of them, that I have paid but small attention to them this. Facts, however, are stubborn things, and I am at length compelled, against my will, to believe these hell hounds are bent on mischief. Having made their treaty, & got all they wanted, they are now going to work at their proper trade, viz. cruelty & bloodshed.

Monday, June 1st. I rose at 6 with a violent pain in my right side. For several days I have been worried with pain there, which I was in hopes would disappear of itself; but, so far for that, reinforcements have been moved up. May be I shall not get better of the distress without a doctor. Although it is called summer, there is still frost enough to remind one of winter. Cold frosty morning this, a fire comfortable, flannel waistcoat by no means to be despised. At 10—hallelujah!—our wagons hove in sight. Had not seen

them for 18 days. At 2 o'clock all at hand. Left Greensburg, across the country for Redstone, and at sunset had got as far as Perry's Mills, where the wagons, Dr. Downer & son stayed all night. Mr. Breck & myself went on 3½ miles further to Col. Hocklen's where we slept.

Tuesday, 2nd. Did not rise very early. Am full of pain yet. Set off for Budd's ferry, where we arrived at 9 A. M. & breakfasted. "More haste than good speed," however. Waited for the wagons till sunset; and it took till 9 in the morning to get them all across the river. A very poor night, owing to body thoroughly fagged out, & wretched bed. Why cannot the people of this country treat themselves at least as well as they do their brutes, & live a little more like rational beings?

Wednesday, 3rd. The wagons were started at 6 o'clock for Redstone. After we had travelled 5 miles stopped to feed, when news came of rather an appalling nature, of a violent hurricane near Redstone, last Saturday. We had before heard that half the trees on the Alleghany mountains were blown down. We kept on, however, till night, when we came within the outskirts of the devastation. I was ahead of the wagons two miles, &, it being sunset, left them & my companions to sleep in the woods. There I made for the house of a farmer named Go, was received, & well entertained. And indeed I needed it, for the prospect of all my plans failing shook my nerves to pieces, & I went to bed sick, sick.

Thursday, 4th. Rose early, & went forward to reconnoitre the scene of destruction. Such a scene as it was, what pen can describe it? Waited till my old farmer had cleared the way for nearly a mile. I followed in his wake, till I came where once had stood a dense forest of lofty trees, but now about half of them

were thrown down a thousand ways, in the most confused manner. Not to be daunted, I penetrated into it nearly a quarter of a mile, which brought me, as I estimated, within 3 miles of my destined port, viz. Redstone; but I then saw it would be impossible to work through, without long delay, & as for the wagons, it was out of the question. I stood, looked, then turned, "lifted up my voice & wept." "O God, how infinite art thou, how frail & weak are we"! Forty three days of wearing anxiety, of almost incessant fatigue,—and here at last shut out! However, to submit to the inevitable is the part of philosophy, as well as of piety. I turned immediately back, informed the wagoners that it was impossible to proceed, & halted them on a high hill; and here a council of war was called. To go forward was impossible; to turn back a distressing thought; while to stay where we were would be most disagreeable, in fact destructive. We spent three hours considering the question, what shall we do? reconnoitering, consulting, comparing views. At length we concluded to turn our wagons down a creek called Little Redstone; and here finding a disused log cabin, put our effects into it. And I can truly say a more melancholy scene my eyes never beheld. Here we settled with our wagoners; & having paid duties in Baltimore of £23 & more, & been journeying 43 days, stopping at taverns & other places where charges were high, our cash on hand was so reduced that we were obliged to give our joint note, payable on demand, for a considerable amount. The wagoners' bill from Baltimore to Shippensburg, & thence to this place, at 25/ per Cwt. Penn. Currency &

	£	s	d
one day allowed ferriage	105″	12″	0
Freight from Boston to Baltimore	4″	10″	0
Ditto paid Custom house officer	23″	2″	3
Storage	0″	12″	0

	£	s	d	
viz. Our note	18″	11″	9	to James Welch
	20″	3″	3	to Jno Hindman
p'd by Jn° May	18″	7″	5	to Jno Thompson
	17″	5″	5	to Jno Herron
	74″	7″10		P. currency

Several reasons induced us to go to Redstone, one was that Kentucky & Muskingum were filled with goods of all kinds, as we heard; another was that, going thither, we should run some little hazard of loss by Indians. But the absolute necessity of raising money to pay the wagoners was the strongest inducement. Any how our plans have failed, but I suppose it is all for the best. Here we are in a doleful situation & dismal place. All the Pæons grant that our continuance here may be of short duration. The best we can expect will be to save ourselves, probably we shall fall short of even that. Slept at night on the grain chest, where I could see the stars through the shingles.

Friday, 5th. Rose at 4½. The sun shone beautifully in our rude dwelling, but a fog soon arose which lasted till 9, at which time Dr. Downer & myself undertook to walk to Jackson's Mills, a distance of 5½ miles, through that part of the country where the tornado had raged. We went on tolerably well for two miles, when we found the trees so mangled, broken, & torn that to get along was next to impossible. At times we were obliged to make a detour of quarter of a mile through the woods, in order to find a passage. After travelling stoutly for upwards of three hours we reached our destination, thoroughly tired. To give a full & particular description of the ravages of the hurricane is what I shall not attempt. One fact I will state will give as good an idea of its prodigious power as a thousand details. I saw a black walnut tree, three feet through, sound & thrifty as tree could be; and

this was broken short off, five ft. 3 inches from the ground. The height was 136 feet. The force of the fall was so great, that the small limbs were mere crumbles, and the larger ones remaining hardly more than four feet in length. Nearby was a house, which was unroofed. All the orchard and other trees in the vicinity prostrate. The length of the path cut by the gust is unknown; but the breadth was generally about 4 miles.

At Jackson's we purchased a boat, 36 ft. long by 12 wide, for which we paid him in good money £9″ 19s. She is covered with a good roof, 25 ft. in length, and will make us a good dwelling place, as we trust. Got back to the cabin well tired, of course. I was taken violently sick in the night, & the illness lasted till morning. (A passage follows which appears to read thus, "Sprague's Dovers pills" to some sort of pills used in medicine) Perhaps it was owing to eating bread made of sick wheat.

Saturday, 6th. Am in a weak & low condition, & have passed a very poor day. Our people have had plenty of fine fish, but I have had no appetite to taste them. We had a heavy gust last night, attended with thunder & a heavy hail storm, but it did not last long. We have employed the day in settling our accounts, and opening a book for business. Though people are in want of everything we have got, they have no money to pay for it.

Sunday, 7th. A melancholy day to me. Indisposed as I have been for several days, I find the mind partakes of the body's feebleness. Some aspects of the situation might appear romantic to some sorts of people, but for me only its solemn considerations make any impression. Here am I in the wilderness with five tons of goods stored away in a log cabin, 20 x 17. Through the roof the stars may be studied to great advantage, when the clouds do not intervene. The hut

is in a deep valley, the width of which is not more than 400 yards. On either side is a tremendous mountain, at least 300 ft. high; and the clouds are constantly manoeuvring overhead. There are generally four or five showers a day; & between the showers fishermen are passing to the river, a ¼ mile off.

Read today Mr. Appleton's sermon on the death of 'Squire Flint, which I like very well. Indeed, funeral sermons furnish about as sprightly subjects as any I have met with, these several days. Slept poorly, & rose early.

Monday, 8th. Mr. Breck & the Doctor gone for the boat. I hope to see them back by 12 o'clock. The winds are very shifty. They generally box the compass two or three times a day. Have received ten dollars today for goods. The boat did not arrive till 7 o'clock.

Tuesday, 9th. At 5 o'clock we began to move our effects from the cabin to the boat; & by indefatigable industry by 12, noon, had accomplished it, moving five tons & upwards a quarter of a mile. No accident occurred, excepting that one cask of nails rolled off the dray, & fell into the river, in about 4 feet depth of water, whence we afterwards fished it out. This afternoon we have all been very busy opening goods. Our boat will prove, I think, very convenient, and our prospects—let us hope— will brighten.

Wednesday, 10th. Rose at 4½. Went immediately to business, & continued at it without intermission all day. Have taken upwards of $20 cash; & we are trying to add to the conveniences of the boat. Wind variable, & showers every day.

Thursday, 11th. Rose at 4, & as yesterday went to work at once. Took $20 before breakfast, & paid for our boat in goods. This day's work in all amounts to near £30. What cash we now receive is to pay for a dead horse, as it must all go to pay the wagoners, a sum

not less than £56. I do not know how we shall raise it, but we shall use every exertion, as we have given our word that we will not go down the river until we have paid it. Several vague reports have reached us, that our people at Muskingum have had an action with the savages, routed them, & killed a number—a hundred according to some stories. I distrust these rumors very much. However, we are lying in a place where we have no communication with the world, excepting through a few creatures almost as ignorant as the brute creation.

Four nights now I have slept at the house of a Mr. Richards, where are tolerably good bed accommodations. State of health & the want of my own bed apparatus compels me to this. Truly I have not had a well day since I left Boston. It is hard work to perform such a journey, & undertake what we are doing, without one sprightly day. Where we are is 50 miles from Pittsburg, up the Monongahela river.

Friday, 12th. Rose at 4, walked 1½ miles from my lodgings, soaped & washed at a large & beautiful spring, & drank a pint. I have a dose of tartar emetic prepared, but if I can save the ship without resorting to the pumps—pumping up through the teeth—shall make the effort at least. Busy as a bee, all day. Took about $20 in cash, and this at a place where one would never think of looking for inhabitants, much less for money. We are living certainly at a very cheap rate, no rent, no taxes, nor any bills of that description. We hang out our lines, to catch fish, & haul them in when we want them. Indeed the fish are excellent, and generally we make a meal of one of them, once a day. Extremely hot today, with the thermometer at 80°. The mid day is, as a rule, hot, while the nights & mornings are cold, so we have fires in the evening. Not a cloud has been seen this day all over the horizon. Went to roost at 9 o'clock.

Saturday, 13th. Rose at 4 o'clock, took the same walk as yesterday, washed, & drank the pure mountain draught. Returned to the boat, found all asleep, routed them out, & we set the store in order. But little business today. Took only £3 cash, & some provisions for our own use. A beautiful day, as clear as a bell, the third one we have had together.

Sunday, 14th. A delightful morning, all nature rejoicing. The notes of the birds of all kinds so many & so incessant, one is almost stunned. By the decrees & usages of our fathers, this day appointed for one of rest. Hope I shall be able to observe it as such. Wrote a letter to Col. Battelle, informing him of where I am, in what hidden work. The day very hot, thermometer at 85°. At sunset a beautiful shower, & the clouds all over the horizon like burnished gold most glorious. My eyes never rested on a more magnificent spectacle.

Monday, 15th. Rose at the usual hour. All hands employed in making cable. Finished by sunset, & had a good one. A number of people here today, but it is like stripping the cow after you have milked. They have paid away all their money, & by no device can get more.

It is time we were going down the river, but the water is too low for us to think of doing it at present. We might still trade to any extent if we would take produce; but what could we do with it if we had it? Slept on board last night on a straw bed.

Tuesday, 16th. Rose before 4. Hauled in a perch weighing 8½ lbs. as fine & fat a fellow as I have seen. Fish are not plenty at this spot, but by keeping a line out always we have them when wanted. They are as good a fish as our rock (cod), & it would puzzle anyone to find the difference between them, when properly cooked.

When the sun was an hour high, the Doctor & myself took a canoe & went down the river to a large ripple

to ascertain its depth of water. We found it very rapid & shoal, & made up our minds the big boat could not pass it. Returned very tired, & slept on my straw bed.

Wednesday, 17th. Rose at 3½, not wholly satisfied in my own mind but that the boat might go down the river after all. I want to be at least 12 miles lower down the river than now. I procured two experienced men to survey the ripples, & report. At 8 they returned, & pronounced them impassable. So here we are, laid up, the Lord knows how long. I was afraid we might be caught in this way, but we could not get ready to move sooner. Certain we have eaten no bread of idleness since we came here, & have taken better than $100 so far; have paid for our boat $33, besides taking enough for our own stores. If 12 or 14 miles further down the river, we might be in the way to intercept letters going to Muskingum, & might also have opportunities to send some to my dear friend.

Thursday, 18th. Rose at 3 o'clock, & went into a shower bath I have. It thundered & lightened all night, but with very little rain. I am in hopes the river may rise before long, after all, as there has been a heavy cloud all night towards its head. Yesterday, I pilotted a Kentuck boat with two families in it over the ripples. I did this by way of experiment, to ascertain if our boat might possibly get over. This boat drew only 7 inches water, & went over handsomely. Ours draws 12½ inches, which is too much, & cannot go over till the river rises, w'h I pray God may be soon.

Friday, 19th. Rose at 3, & had a fine morning walk, which I greatly enjoyed, two miles to the boat. Called up all hands. We went to spinning fish lines, & made great proficiency. We could make four of 22 yards length in an hour. The stuff they are made of costs 3d each, and they sell for 2 shillings. The river seems inclined to rise a little. Yesterday five Kentuck boats

passed us; but none of them drew more than 8 inches water. They all went over clear, but one of them struck twice, & another once; but they were not much hurt. Their effects were not of much value, having sent their horses & wagons across to Wheeling. Before the day was out, our river had risen about two inches.

Saturday, 20th. Rose at 3, & ascertained that the river had fallen in the night more than an inch. Notwithstanding, we cast off our fasts, & dropt down to within a few rods of the ripple. Here we stopt, & I waded in & explored the channel, examining here & there for more than half an hour. Found rocks that had hardly 12½ inches of water on them, & the current very strong. But the question was, to hazard the boat over, or stay there prisoners all summer. We made a bold dash for luck, & were so fortunate as to go over without bumping. The river was so low that we were all day, and industrious at that, in getting down to Carner's (?) ferry, where we arrived an hour after sunset, well fagged out, for this has been the hottest day of the season. The mercury ranging at 89°. Soon after we landed, there came a heavy thunder gust which lasted for two hours, & with very vivid lightning.

Sunday, 21st. I was too tired to sleep last night, & awoke in the morning unrefreshed. Rose at 3. The situation we have now is better than the former one. Hope the business we shall do will prove it to be so. At 11, A. M. another violent thunder gust. Heavy flying clouds afterwards. Towards evening it was pretty clear, excepting in the N. W. where there laid a bank which kept up a constant flashing of lightning. Mercury today up to 90°. Went to bed at 9. At 12 the thunder awakened me. By the time I had struck a light, the rain came down in great sheets, & the thunder & lightning were tremendous. One flash struck within

a quarter of a mile of us, tore three trees to pieces, & killed seven hogs belonging to Mr. Cartner.

Monday, 22nd. Rose early, & took up the floor of our boat, & cleaned her out; then properly jointed & relaid the floor, put up our shed forward, & in fact made a fine boat of her. Though we have had several showers today, the river has not risen one inch. How long, O Lord, how long are we to stay prisoners on this Monongahela river? Yet, even if free, should we not be at a loss to know where to go? Better is it to stay even in misery, if to go farther looks worse. I have seen several traders returned from Muskingum who have left a large part of their property, unsold, at Marietta. Evening, a little cooler. Thermometer at 81°.

Tuesday, 23d. Slept well, & was up at 4 o'clock, & soon set off for Summerell's ferry, having heard, last evening, that Gen. Putnam was there, on his return to New England. Though I made all haste, I was too late. When I arrived, he had been gone an hour. I hoped he would have tarried there all day, as he had to buy a new horse, having tired out his old one. My disappointment was severe, & I felt for the time almost disposed to struggle no longer, but let the world take its own way, without help or hindrance from me; for do I not labor in vain, & spend my strength & spirits for naught? The people where we are now come thick & fast enough to see our goods, & give them the price. They cry out "cheap, very cheap"; but they go away without buying—& why? Because they have no money, & there is none to be had anywhere. Somehow a little tires me. I went to bed very tired.

Wednesday, 24th. Rose at 3, to find our boat had sprung a leak through some mismanagement. Some of our folks who had altered her loading had made her very one sided. When I got up she had not less than 15 hhds of water in her. Called all hands, & set the

pump agoing; and in about an hour had all right again. Wrote Mrs. May yesterday, left the letter at Summerell's ferry, enclosing others of 7th, 14th, & 21st inst. Little or no business a-doing. The river extremely low, & my spirits to match. Health wretched, & all my conveniences at Marietta. From evils of all kinds—especially such as we are now enduring—good Lord deliver us. For a resource & occupation, Joseph & myself went into the woods, & brought back trees to be wrought into a tender for our big boat.

Thursday, 25th. Joseph & I employed in making a dory. Had little to call me off, & by sunset had her complete, all except caulking & graving. She is a pretty little craft, 17 ft. long & 2½ wide in the middle, & 18 inches deep. We might trade largely if we would take produce, & if money was plenty below it might answer; but from all information there is none to be had. So one call is as good as another, & some the best of all. From intelligence received a few days ago, the places that were taking ginseng at 2/6 per pound fell yesterday, at the little places, to 1/6. From what I saw at New York, Philadelphia, & Baltimore I suspected a decline was at hand; & though I have as yet refused taking any, yet if I can sell the goods, & take good ginseng at 1/6, I am not afraid, as it may bear keeping one or two years at that price.

Friday, 26th. The night was cold, but it is a warm day. Employed myself finishing the dory. When I was at the helm last Saturday, coming down the river from Little Redstone I had a good compass, came slow, & followed the meanderings, which I made out as follows:

From Little Redstone N. N. W. one mile to Linn's ripple; then same course ½ mile to a point on the left hand; then W. N. W. 2½ miles to Spears' ripple; thence N. N. W. 1½ miles to another ripple; then N. one mile & N. E. ½ mile; then E. 1½ miles to Sweringin's

(?) ferry; then N. N. E. one mile to Cartner's ferry (?); thence one mile N., ½ mile N. E. ½ mile N. W. by W., 1¼ miles W. N. W. to McClintock's (?) ferry at 3 o'clock, P. M. (The next sentence appears to read "The distance between Cartner's (?) & this place 3½ miles in 2½ hours. This slow & hard work") We stopt here to receive 40 gals whiskey in exchange for a rifle gun, but when it was brought it proved to be half water, & we would not take it. The land about here is excellent; but the people are too lazy or too ignorant to cultivate it to advantage, and are miserably poor.

Saturday, 27th. A cold night, & heavy fog in the morning. Did not rise till 5 o'clock, the fog continuing heavy for several hours, which prevented our moving. The sun began to disperse the vapors at 7 o'clock, & then we employed our wooden sails again; and in two hours went two miles to Devoe's ferry, all the way with the current. Struck this morning, for the first time, but did no damage. The course of the river from McCl—— to Devoes is W 1¼, W. by N. ½ mile, N. N. W. ½ mile. Here we must stay till the river rises. This afternoon, a poor boy was induced to swim a stallion across the river. Right opposite our boat on the other side of the river was a bank, & he could not rise it; and turned back. The boy reined in the frightened animal too hard, & both were drowned. Three men in a canoe that persuaded him in, were afraid to go to him, when they might have saved him; but they delayed more than seven minutes, & are chargeable with the loss of the lad.

Sunday, 28th. Poorly in health, no reading, no preaching, nothing to do. All hands gone to bury the drowned. Bull frogs, toads, turtle doves make so much noise, they drive away sleep.

Monday, 29th. "An ill wind that blows nobody any good"—though poor for us, beautiful weather for farmers. River as low, within 3 inches, as ever known to

be. Nothing to do but cook, eat, sleep, & hold Colley* by the tail. Journalizing amounts to nothing, for all is intolerable sameness, as we lie wasting our time on these drowsy waters.

Tuesday, 30th. All the same. Walked out today 5 miles. Lands good, but hilly, & very poorly cultivated. When I returned from the walk, I found the river had fallen so much it was unsafe to stay on the East side, where we had not more than three inches to spare, and we must change our place. Yesterday I thought we should be obliged to move soon, & had pitched on Pigeon Creek, nearly opposite, as the place to move to, as there is a deep place at its mouth that has nearly 12 feet water. Therefore at 4 o'clock, P. M. we unmoored, & without much difficulty crossed the river, & were soon secure in Pigeon Creek, where we must stay till the river swells again.

Wednesday, July 1st. Sixty-nine days since we left Boston. I will strive to suppress sighs & lamentations, for what living man has a right to complain. Nevertheless, between me & this book, it must be owned, my feelings are tortured, & groans will find their way out, if not through the throat, through the finger tips. How have I striven, how little accomplished! Surely "the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong"—that's Scripture, and it's truth too. So I sometimes think it might be as well for one to sit down, & sing "Oh be easy."

At 9 o'clock this morning mounted a little dapple gray horse & rode up the banks of the creek 4½ miles, in which distance I crossed it seventeen times. I visited the house of a Mrs. Colvill, and traded with her for nine cheeses, which were pretty good, & a quantity of maple sugar. Here as elsewhere no money.

Thursday, 2nd. Where we are lying it is 12 feet deep, as I have stated. But you can wade the river

*An abbreviation for melancholy.

almost any where. In places you can go across it, & not find more than nine inches water. Still unwell, & patience severely exercised. Am meditating a journey to Marietta by land, providing the river does not rise in three or four days. If the journey is made, I shall be able to form some opinion as to whether it will be prudent to go down the river, as far as the place named, with our goods. People whom I have conversed with seem to be agreed, there is no money there, & three stores are already opened.

Friday, 3rd. Got up early to do nothing. Oh that my goods were back again in Boston—or anywhere—rather than on this dismal Monongahela river! I cannot help recording, this is the severest trial of my life. If I am ever happy enough to get out of this, I put these thoughts down that the lessons of the past may not be forgotten. Here week after week, with little or nothing to do, no money stirring, & with no sort of amusement to divert the mind from gloomy fancies, & many thoughts & anxieties about those far away. As for our business, to take produce will not do. Ginseng is worse than nothing. Not a penny to be seen; & if we give credit we lose everything. The property we have here too valuable to be run away from. So we must stay, & wait for better times. To crown all, not a word from Boston since I left it.

Saturday, 4th. This the anniversary of Independence; but we poor fellows must keep it in rather a doleful manner, not with the high glee in which I shared at Marietta last year. Even if there be no money there, they will no doubt celebrate the day this year. And it is best they should. In this world of disappointments, let us take what enjoyment we can get. "Let us eat & drink for tomorrow we die."

"The best laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft a-gley,
And lea'e us nought but grief and pain,
For promis'd joy."

ing to be thrown every minute. However, by balancing myself well, I made out to reach the destined place without misfortune. On going to bed—which I did early—found my bed was made of hen feathers, with the ticking torn in places, yet I was so sleepy that I thought I would venture it. In vain! my pipes were soon choked up, but I tried not to stir till compelled to. Was obliged to get up, & hurry to the window for breath. Here I remained for nearly an hour, then put on my cantsloper, took my saddle bags for a bolster, wrapt a blanket about my feet, & laid down on the floor, at as great a distance from the bed as possible, & right under the open window. In this situation I continued to pull for life for near an hour, when I felt a little relieved, & dropt asleep.

Sunday, 12th. Here I am waiting for a passage down the Ohio to Marietta. Have a prospect of going Tuesday morning with Major Tyler. Took a walk this forenoon, something more than a mile to the mouth of the creek. Here is a little town begun. There are eight huts already built, & one pretty good house. The country back from here somewhat settled. If the people were industrious, the farms might be excellent. Even as it is, there are some fine ones. Little trading places are scattered all over this country, within 6 or 8 miles of each other. It has been very hot today, rain & thunder at 1 o'clock, but without effect in cooling the air. The copperhead snake is said to be numerous in the country where I now am. Several killed on this plantation yesterday. The Ohio extremely low, but rising a little. Oh that I could have letters from Boston!

Monday, July 13th. Felt uneasy at staying in this place so long, & although it rained pretty hard, took my baggage & went down to the mouth of the Buffalo. Was obliged to cross the creek three times before reaching its mouth.

At this place is a small town, the beginning of which was made last year. There are eight small houses built here on low ground, the people very poor. I put my saddle bags and kentsloper into one of them, & then went & sat down on bank of the Ohio, ruminating on the experiences of the summer. I had been there about an hour, when my ears were agreeably alarmed by the sound of a drum & fife, at a distance. Looking up the river, I perceived a large boat coming down, loaded with a company of soldiers. When they came opposite, I hailed them, & it proved to be Capt. McCurdy, who invited me to take passage with him, which offer I gladly accepted. At 12 o'clock, noon, I embarked, and, with my new companions, gently glided down the river. It being low in many places, the soldiers were obliged to jump out, & haul the boat over the ripples.

Tuesday, 14th. Slept but little, owing to the incessant noise made by the soldiers. With the help of oars, we dropt down forty miles by 6 in the morning. Then came to an anchor & breakfasted, and at 9 started again, and by sunset had arrived at Fort Harmar. Requested the officer of police to put me across the Muskingum, which he did; and thus I landed at the old settlement. Found all my friends well & flourishing—and as to others, they concern me very little.

The place is materially altered for the better, the people high spirited & confident, but wanting, as I had heard, in that community without which no wheels can run smoothly, viz, cash. Soon after landing, I went to the coffee house; procured me a good cup of coffee; & after a while went to bed; not to sleep, however, for a dog nearby made such a barking & howling, & I was attacked by such a host of fleas that sleeping was impossible. Rose early, & strolled about the place.

Wednesday, 15th. Little comfort in bed. Arose at 3, & took a morning walk. Some of our people have

as fine gardens as I have ever seen, filled with good things. The improvements to be seen on every hand are really surprising. The fields covered with corn, wheat, flax, &c. The hillsides plentiful with herds, game, &c. Dined today with Gen. Harmar.

Thursday, 16th. Breakfasted with Judge Parsons, & spent two hours with him, discussing colony matters. Then walked to Major Sargent's gardens, where I found everything growing luxuriantly, millet, madder, rhubarb, rice, & cotton, besides a great variety of kitchen stuff. Dined with the Major, and in the evening again taken poorly. Perhaps, this last attack owing to my mode of living while coming down the Ohio river.

Friday, 17th. Had a poor night of it. Took a dose of the jaundice elixir. Nibbled a little vegetables & bacon with Billy Gridley. Moped about the most of the day. At noon, died Mr. Joshua Cheever, he having, three days agone, fallen from the bridge in Front st. a distance of 35 ft. which broke his scull, & in fact jammed him into a lump.

Saturday, 18th. Am better, thank God. The day passed in reconnoitering the settlement. I find about sixty good buildings in the city, many of them quite large & handsome. In all belonging to the settlement at least 400 acres of corn, as good as ever was seen, which will undoubtedly produce 20000 bushels of grain. To day the funeral of Mr. Cheever was held, & I attended. The body was placed in a handsome black walnut coffin. About 16 Freemasons attended, as mourners. Two solemn tunes were sung by a choir, and Mr. Storms (?) offered an excellent prayer.

Sunday, 19th. Attended publick worship, where we had a very good performance by Mr. Storms (or Story), on the death of young Cheever.

Monday, 20th July, 1789 (on a detached piece of paper). A beautiful day. Wind S. W. The river ex-

tremely low. Dined off a buffalo fish of 16 lbs weight, with fine young potatoes.

Tuesday, 21st. Clear, serene, middling warm weather. Received a letter from my partners Breck and Downer, to the effect that they had removed down the Monongahela, & should await my return at Pittsburg, which probably will be soon. Dined with Gen. Harmar.

Wednesday, 22nd. Never was finer weather, the air like crystal, but the waters as low as can be. Spent all the fore part of the day settling with Col. Battelle. At 1½, P. M. crossed the Muskingum, & dined, in free & easy fashion, with Major Doughty.

Thursday, 23d. Three long & tedious months have rolled away since I left my home. Not a single line have I had from Boston as yet. In all this time I have done business at a loss, & the prospect for the future is not cheering. A fire broke out at 9 o'clock this morning, at the house of Gen. Tupper, which might have done much mischief, but happily it was extinguished, before it had spread very far. Dined with Major Doughty in company; then crossed the river at sunset, & made preparations to go up the Ohio.

Friday, 24th. At 9 o'clock this morning, in company with Vanlear (?) Newport Torrey & four others started up the river in two small canoes, & ascended by dint of hard labor 27 miles by sunset, then encamped in the open wilderness. On a bed of green leaves slept well.

Saturday, 25th. At 4½ under way. At 10 o'clock, a hard gust, & a copious fall of rain for one & half hours. Then we went on again till 1 P. M. when we were overtaken by another thunder storm, which lasted two hours, which over, we stood up the river again, & notwithstanding all hindrances, we came through 37 miles by sunset. Made our bivouac on the wet ground, with nothing but my blanket to cover four of us. Towards morning, it rained again.

Sunday, 26th. Neither rain nor wet ground prevented my sleeping. Hard labor, hard fare & free fresh air make a good soporific, and how much to be preferred to your close rooms & feather beds. At 3 o'clock I got up, stiff & sore a little from the exertions of yesterday, but willing to take the setting pole again, —in order to be out of this wilderness, where roam wild beasts & wilder men. We had reason to suppose a party of the savages had seen us last night; and on rising we could hear the cocks crowing in different places around us. This we took to be—which no doubt it was—signals which the Indians were making to each other. We started & kept on till 9 o'clock nearly, when it came on to rain, which hindered us three hours. Not one single rag of clothes or scrap of paper but was wet through. The damage done by the wet to the baggage would amount to several pounds, if reckoned up. We arrived at Zane's, at Wheeling, when the sun was half an hour high, tired, wet & mouldy. Here I must tarry a day or two, dry, & put my baggage in order.

Monday, 27th. Slept soundly last night, & feel all the better for it this morning. A beautiful day, & the wish is strong to be a travelling, but must stop, & try to save as much as I can of my baggage. At 5, P. M. came on another severe gust, & it rained with great force for three hours. After it cleared up I went to bed.

Tuesday, 28th. Rose at 6, breakfasted at 8, and at 9 set off for Washington, mounted on as sorry a jade as I ever bestrid, ugly, contrary, & heavy as a log. I beat, banged, jerked bridle, & swore, but to little purpose, till 5 o'clock in the afternoon, when I found a sort of tavern, or whiskey house, where I stopt, having travelled 18 miles, through a dreary wild, the most of the way. Here I could wet my whistle, & procured pork & cucumbers, which tasted well to a man half famished as I was. By the time self & horse were

sufficiently refreshed, it was 6 o'clock, and a black cloud was rising in the West; but 13 miles were still between me & Washington. Accordingly, I did not think it best to leave the harbor I had made in a hurry, & stopt there all night. I crossed the Wheeling river thirteen times today, which had risen last night 7 feet, and fell this morning 3 feet; but it is still very rapid. Several times I had the water over the tops of my boots, & twice was in imminent danger of being swept away in the current.

Wednesday, 29th. At 4 this morning mounted my Rosinante, & after hard travelling reached Washington at half past 9; thence 7 miles to McC——'s (unreadable) town, where dined; thence to Col. Noel's (?), where I slept. Here most kindly entertained.

Thursday, 30th. The night was a rainy one, & the weather did not clear till 9 o'clock. As soon as it did, I was off for Pittsburg, where I arrived at 11 o'clock. But the boat was not there, although there was plenty of water in the river to float her down. My partners are of a heavier & less enterprising disposition than I am, that is certain; or they fear danger more, or love their ease better. Their neglect to improve the opportunity appears to me inexcusable. At 2 o'clock in Markus Hulen's boat I shall set out to find them. The strong current will be much against me, but it would be favorable for them, bringing them down at the rate of 7 miles an hour. Going up stream, against wind & current we made only 7 miles in all. On stopping for the night, we laid down on the bottom of the boat, & slept soundly till morning.

Friday, 31st. The river rose 5 feet during the night; & the current this morning extremely strong. At 4 we set off; & went to Braddock's Field to breakfast; thence to the mouth of the Yohogany in four hours. There we found the boat, and my people very busy—waiting for me. Made up my mind that as things are, our plans all disconcerted, money so scarce, & as we

feel so differently, it is better to dissolve partnership, make a dividend of the merchandise, & let each one do with his share as he pleases. Laid the matter before the others, & argued the point with them, Dr. Downer agreeing to the dissolution, while Mr. Breck preferred that, so far as we two were concerned, it should continue.

Saturday, August 1st. All day employed in winding up the affairs of the concern. Dr. Downer took his dividend. It has been a very fatiguing day; but I hope for rest tomorrow.

Sunday, 2nd. The Wind at the West. The river falling as fast as it rose. Am afraid I shall get caught again, though with the boat lightened of some part of her load of goods & persons, I don't feel so apprehensive as I should otherwise. Some part of the day spent as it should be; the rest attending to matters that needed to be attended to, such as airing my clothes, which were full of damp & mould, not having been thoroughly dried from the soaking they got on the Ohio river. For seven days have not missed of having a hard shower. This watery world wearies me.

Monday, 3rd. Rose at 4 o'clock, Mr. Downer's things all put up by 9 o'clock, and at 10 they left us, with their effects, bound up the river. I believe the arrangements we have made are really the best. Had our first plans not miscarried, we might have been serviceable to each other; but having nothing to do of any account for nearly three months, we have only been in each other's way. Spent the rest of the day in putting things to rights.

Tuesday, 4th. On getting up this morning, went to putting the boat in sailing order. Shall wait for a passenger till 7 o'clock, & then shove off,—for Pittsburg. At 8, we were under way, & by great exertion, without stopping but once (which was by striking in

the ripples in the middle of the river) we arrived at the famous port of Pittsburg at sunset. Here we staid all night, & fared pretty well.

Wednesday, 5th. Remained the day at Pittsburg. Sold to the amount of about $10, chiefly in shoes. Do not expect to start till tomorrow, when I expect to be escorted by Capt. Ferguson's company of 50 men, at least to sail in their company. To day, at 4 o'clock, received a cordial that did me good, viz: a letter from my dear partner in Boston, the first I have received from her since I left home. Of itself an inestimable treasure, but it came wrapt in some sort of delicate French paper. Did that enhance it's value? Not at all, for who knows through what hands said dainty paper had passed, or to what uses of folly & vanity it had been applied? However, who cares for the feathers of a bird, or the foul water it has drunk, or the dirty seed it has eaten, if so be it brings glad tidings? This bird wafted real delight to my thirsty soul.

Thursday, 6th. It has been extremely hot all this week, but today seemed almost beyond mortal endurance. We have been waiting all day for company, in fact we cannot go down the river without more help, therefore must wait the motion of Capt. Ferguson. The evening delightfully pleasant. The evening air here is almost always cool. Am pestered with a sore mouth, & am afraid it is scurvy, owing to the mode of living.

Friday, 7th. At 4, P. M. we got under way, and arrived at 12 o'clock at night at Big Beaver, 30 miles, where we stopt, & slept the remainder of the night. A party of Delaware & Seneca Indians were encamped within a mile or two of us.

Saturday, 8th. At 4 o'clock, A. M. got under way again; & after a rather toilsome day, arrived, at 1 o'clock at night, at Mingo Bottom, 45 miles. Much

rain today, with thunder & lightning. I kept the helm ten hours without intermission from Pitt to Little Beaver.

Sunday, 9th. At 7 o'clock, A. M. left Mingo Bottom, a settlement of five log huts, or cabins, & not more than fifty acres of land cleared. Yet, small as the settlement is, here is a store, with a very good assortment of goods, to the value, as I suppose, of £1000. The day is rainy & the wind ahead. At 11 o'clock, arrived at the mouth of the Buffalo, where I must wait one or two days for a Mr. Ludlow, who has purchased the boat. At 6 o'clock, evening, there came on a violent rain with wind & thunder, which lasted nearly three hours. I went to bed at 11 o'clock, having first seen that our arms were in order, as we are now in an enemy's country, and small handed.

Monday, 10th. A foggy, but very warm morning. It has been extremely hot these five days. The people now come on board in shoals, look at the goods, cheapen everything, but buy nothing. In the evening, when the sun was about an hour high, I went about a mile up a steep hill, to the plantation of a Capt McManus (or McMeans) to look at some farms. Staid to tea, & was joined at dusk by Mr. Ludlow, who was acquainted, he said, with the roads through the woods, & would pilot me. I took him at his word, & we set out, just about dusk, I on a little pack horse, & he on foot. We had not gone more than a quarter of a mile, before he lost the road. I told him it lay to the right, but he insisted on its being to the left, and stood right into the thickest part of the woods; when, after some distance traversed, we came to a rise of land so steep as to be impassable for a footman, much more for a horse. We then turned to the left again, still going out of the way. We were on Indian ground, & the way as dark as pitch; & we were continually among thorns & briars, breaking our shins over old

logs & fallen trees, & tumbling into holes. My horse fell three times. In fact we were beating about in utter uncertainty & bewilderment for more than two hours; and the sweat was pouring from every part of my body. It is quite impossible to give any adequate idea of our toil & perplexity. We got out of it, however, & came at last to the boat, where I pulled off my clothes which were wet through with perspiration, coat & all.

Tuesday, 11th. At half past 4 in the morning, we cast off our boat for Wheeling. It is extremely hot. Mr. Breck, the Doctor, Mr. Ludlow & myself to navigate our ship of twenty tons burden. We had enough to do for the space of nine hours, when we arrived safe at Wheeling, but thoroughly tired out. Thus after toils & struggles innumerable, & hazards not a few, during a period of three months & nineteen days, we have got to where we mean to make a stand, & watch for every chance to get our goods off our hands.

Wednesday, 12th. Employed in moving the goods from the boat to the store which I have taken from 'Squire Zane, at $2 per month, & board at 8 shillings a week. It was a work of difficulty, getting the things up this very steep hill; but by patience & perseverance we accomplished it in eight hours.

Thursday, 13th. Opened store, and idle starers were plenty. They would come, hang around for two hours or more, but purchase nothing. We made out to take but $10. Have made up my mind at length that, if we would do anything, we must take deer skins, furs, & ginseng in exchange for goods. The last article will require great care in the management, in order to keep it good. Seven days since I left Pitt, & have not eaten 3 oz of meat since I came away.

Friday, 14th. The weather still hot, intensely. I never experienced eight days of heat more hard to bear. At 10 o'clock in the morning, Col Sproat &

family stopt here, on their way to Marietta; and at 12 arrived Mr. Benjamin Zane from Sandusky, with a considerable quantity of skins & furs. This Mr. Zane, brother to my landlord, and now upwards of forty years old, was made a prisoner by the Indians, when he was a boy nine years old; & has lived among them almost ever since. He married an Indian woman, & has eight half-breed children, one of which was with him. He still retains the English language, and is a man of good manners, & of very considerable property. Today we have had two smart showers, with the usual accompaniment; but the air seems all the hotter for it.

Saturday, 15th. Close almost to suffocation. The frequent showers & the heat make vegetation to run on ten thousand wheels. I am packing a small quantity of goods to send down to Marietta, which will go in charge of friend Breck. (Here follows a quite long passage written in cypher.) Though no lack of people in the store today, sold but little. The weather a trifle cooler, & the river rising in a slight degree.

Sunday, 16th. Rose at 4 o'clock, & perused some old newspapers from Philadelphia & Carlisle, one as late as 29th July, but found nothing of any value to me. Some part of the day employed in writing to my conjugal partner & others in Boston; some in writing to Marietta; the rest more after the New England fashion. Wrote in all eight letters.

Monday, 17th. Took two guineas from a traveller. Employed in fitting out Gulielmus for Marietta with $250 worth of goods. Hope he will do his best, & make out well. In two days the river has risen ten feet in perpendicular height. Mr. Breck will have a delightful trip down the Ohio, & will probably reach his port in 24 hours. I perish for lack of vision, which means for me lack of letters.

Tuesday, 18th. Pleasant day, river rising, no boats passing, consequently but little business.

Wednesday, 19th. River falling as fast as it rose. A beautiful day. Hangers on plenty. Oh that they had cash to match their curiosity!

Thursday, 20th. Moon changes. This operated on the feelings & movements of the women, & brought them in shoals, not to hang round like their lords, but to buy. Made between 5 & 6 £ cash from them; & sent them away pleased with their bargains.

Friday, 21st. The river continuing to fall. I have every day, morning & evening, to attend the Kentucky boats which are passing. Have to go down & come up a hill as steep as our Beacon Hill in Boston. This serves to keep my joints limber. Dull business today, & whenever that is the case the dumps acquire the ascendency. Strive as we may, there is a Power above us that controls events. Fate holds the strings, & men like puppets move hither & thither as they are led. Success is from above.

Saturday, 22nd. Delightful weather, with a touch of the September quality. A good days work, & accordingly great refreshment of spirit. Have purchased of different persons skins & furs to the amount of 100£. which has made me a busy day. A few such days would set me at liberty. Mr. Breck away, I have to do everything with my own hands. But I am not one of those who are unhappy when alone. Expenses from Pigeon creek to Marietta—Dr.

	£″	s″	d
Brought from last leaf of Journal	3″	6″	10
Paid at Wheeling 2 nights & one day	0″	5″	0
Thence to Washington	0″	4″	0
At Washington	0″	2″	0
McCannons	0″	1″	6
Col Neville's	0″	2″	6
Duncan's Fort Pitt	0″	2″	10
	4″	4″	8

Sunday, 23d. A warm day. Spent the chief part of it in my store, where I was quiet & cool. Read more today, than I have any day since I left Boston. Several little parties of amusement were made up, to which I was much urged; but I preferred to stay in my own quarters; for I am fond of the Sabbath, if I am not one of its most rigorous observers.

Monday, 24th. A beautiful day, employed in taking care of my peltry. Went to bed very tired, & slept soundly.

Tuesday, 25th. Fine clear weather, & but little to do. The river now as low as when I came here. Have just heard the intelligence that the Indians have fired on a party of soldiers & surveyors a little below the great Kanawha river. They surprised them in the gray of the morning, and out of nine killed seven. Mathers (?) & the corporal of the guard only escaped to tell the story.

Wednesday, 26th. Rain in the night, & has been a very rainy day from the N. E. This the only day rainy throughout which I have seen since I came from home; and though much water has fallen, it is by no means such a storm as we frequently have in New England. I expect, however, we shall have a mighty swelling of the Ohio, in a day or two, as it is the only great artery that conducts the waters of a thousand streams, big & little, to the Mississippi, & thence to the Ocean.

Thursday, 27th. It ceased to rain some time in the night, & the river has already begun to rise. Business dull.

Friday, 28th. Great numbers collected here today, women, men, & boys, brim full of curiosity & questions, but wanting in cash. From the thousand questions asked me found the only escape was by answering in monosyllables. The result of this day's tedious labors was only about $3.50. The weather good & clear, & the river, as respects rising, at a stand. (Here follows a passage in cypher)

Saturday, 29th. A cloudy, disagreeable day. Wind at N. N. E. Had but little business. Mr. Zane went a hunting yesterday, & returned with a fine deer. This about the first fresh meat I have seen since I came here, & before that I seldom had any, so that my diet has been pretty much salt meat. To this I attribute a breaking out on my body in several places, with irritation & itching, a form perhaps of scurvy. Mr. Zane raises more than a thousand bushels of corn, besides wheat, rye, oats, barley, rice, flax, &c.; but, like others in these parts, he neglects his garden, which is not good for much, & affords little or nothing. This year he has cut upwards of 150 tons of hay, & he must make money very fast; but he lives in a very poor way for all that. This plantation is as much a frontier outpost as Marietta, indeed more so, as there is nothing separates it from the Indian wild, 200 miles in width, and the whole stretch of the continent in extent. It is only five years since this place was besieged by more than five hundred of the savages; but they did not succeed, and were not permitted to obtain possession of it. I now lay aside the pen to drink "wives & sweethearts."

Sunday, 30th. An exceedingly cold morning, enough to make me shiver. Wind N. a little E. with showers, almost cold enough for snow. Grew warmer in the afternoon. Mounted my horse, & rode up the river to Mr. Chapman's, over an exceeding muddy & hilly road, but in sight of the river all the way. Ate a few peaches & returned. Mr. Zane has nearly 900 peach trees on his plantation, a great part of which hang as full as they can hold; but none of the fruit is quite ripe as yet. He has given me an invitation to pick as many as I please, & I expect to have full swing in a day or two. Mr. Br—n (unreadable) a young man from Conigogig who has a store in one end of the same building with mine generally goes with me once

a day to visit the orchards & fetch water from a beautiful spring. On our return we generally take a drink together just before dinner. This we stand in need of, as we have nothing but water at dinner. Though I am fully persuaded that two stores—as things are—are more than half too much, that belief does not prevent me from living with my next neighbor in great harmony. At night, he sleeps up stairs, & I on the lower floor, on a straw bed, with such bed covering as my travelling baggage can furnish.

Monday, 31st, and the last of August, and, accordingly, last day of summer. It is almost as cold as it usually is the last day of Autumn. The people have sat by the fire all the afternoon, & this evening I find it decidedly comfortable. The people who live here pretend to say, they never saw such weather before; but I am of opinion, from observation, that take summer & winter through, this climate does not average warmer than the county of Suffolk in Massachusetts. True rice grows here, & also madder & rhubarb, but, on the other hand, their melons are no better than ours. Rheumatism begins to pester me, owing perhaps to these sudden changes of weather.

Tuesday, September 1st. Weather still cold. Great probability of frost tonight. No boats seem to be moving up or down the river, & no business at the store; yet I dare not move for fear of losing chances. I am holding Colly* by the tail.

Wednesday, 2nd. Cold still, with heavy flying clouds. Some rain from the S. W. The river again quite low.

Thursday, 3rd. Fine weather.

Friday, 4th. I might as well stop this journal. Nothing to enter upon it, but the same round of rising, eating three times a day, & sleeping at night.

Saturday, 5th. Middling warm. Several arrivals from Muskingum. Some business usually comes in

*See note on page 132.

the wake of such, but not much. My landlord has a fine lot of peaches. I am amusing myself with cutting, drying, & making pickles from them. Have made a pot of 5 gals of them, which shall distribute among the ladies at Fort Harmar & Marietta.

Sunday, 6th. Fine pleasant weather. Have done a great deal of writing, &, among other things, have been over to the island. Go to bed tired.

Monday, 7th. More arrivals from Marietta.

Tuesday, 8th. Nothing to do, nothing to say.

Wednesday, 9th. A delightful day. Have employed myself in overhauling furs & skins, & in picking, cutting, & drying peaches. Put some into the N. E. spirit to give it a flavor. Tomorrow I propose to put up a pot of this kind of pickles for Madam Harmar, & another for Madam Battelle. Though there is such a superabundance of peaches, I cannot bear to see them wasted.

Tuesday, 10th. Will, to amuse & occupy myself, write out a few Remarks on my Expedition & the Season of 1789.

Left Boston on the 23d April. Had an agreeable time at Baltimore where I found the goods in excellent order. But here an unlucky & unexpected event occurred. I was obliged to pay better than £30 duty on merchandise brought, or else leave it behind. I felt this to be hard luck, as it deprived me of travelling money. Flour, at the time, came to a quick market in Baltimore, & so high the price, that the wagoners chose rather to bring flour there than to engage to go over the mountains. This made it next to impossible to procure wagons to answer our purpose. At length, however, I succeeded in engaging some to take our goods about 90 miles to Shippensburg, where we stored them. From there made several rides round the neighborhood, seeking for help, & finally made a bargain with one Daniel Elliott to transport the goods to Fort

Pitt, or Redstone; but when the time came, he did not appear, but sent word he could not perform according to promise. Breck & myself were at that time upward of one hundred miles off, and Downer was obliged to make a new contract. This made a delay of ten days, but finally the wagons came on, & were advanced within 4 miles of Redstone, when a terrible tornado laid prostrate the forests right in the line of our march, cutting a path four miles wide. This proved a barrier impenetrable for the time; and, after reconnoitering & consulting nearly a whole day, we ordered the wagons down to Little Redstone, a small creek that empties into the Monongahela, five miles below Redstone Old Fort.

Here we put our goods into a deserted cabin, within a ¼ mile of the river. The next day the Doctor & I went through the scene of devastation to Sam. Jackson's, a distance of four miles, & here bought a Kentuck boat, which was brought down the next Monday; and on Tuesday put our goods on board, opened store & did business. All this while the river was falling, & we dropt out at the mouth of the creek. The next day we heard of the great depreciation in ginseng, which was bringing total confusion to our former plans. We thought it absolutely necessary to wait for confirmation of the news, which we did, giving out that the river was too low to admit of our going down. I did not want the inhabitants, who are very inquisitive, to be precisely informed of the state of our affairs. However, in point of fact, the river did get so low in a few days that it was impossible for a boat as big as ours to go over the ripples. This continued a long time, and after being confined upward of 30 days to the Monongahela, & after the disagreeable news in regard to ginseng was also confirmed, I formed the plan of exploring the country that lay betwixt us & Muskingum, with the understanding with my partners that

the boat should come down the river, if the waters arose in my absence. On Wednesday, the 8th of July I set out by land & on foot, & reached Washington at 2 o'clock, and here spent the afternoon & night. There is a number of stores in this little place, as it is a county town & centre—all between a number of rivers. I critically observed the manner of trade here, & came to the conclusion that it would not answer to bring our goods to the place. The next morning, I stood for the mouth of the Buffalo, & reached it by sunset. Here is a little town a building right at the confluence of the creek with the Ohio. The beginning only was made this spring, & nine houses of good size have been erected. In time it will be a good place for trade. I remained here a day or two, waiting for a passage down the river, & meantime got acquainted with a number of stout, wealthy farmers that live back from the river some 7 or 8 miles, & raise a good deal of produce. These men, as time rolls on, & the place grows, will be of consequence to the little town. I was strongly inclined to bring some or all the goods to this place, but other counsels prevailed. I procured a passage down the river to the place whither I was most strongly drawn, viz, Muskingum; but there found, as I feared would be, a condition of things by no means encouraging: they wanted everything, but had little or nothing to pay for it with, so that I durst not venture to come here, in the fear that they would prevail on me against myself, & that I should let them have the goods without pay. Here I remark that Kentucky is, according to report, filled with merchants who cannot dispose of their goods, as the dealing medium of exchange ginseng has utterly depreciated. Those who ought to know say, that there are ten traders there where there was but one last summer. And it seems to be a prevailing opinion that two thirds of the traders referred to will be ruined by this summer's business.

The quandary was very disagreeable & embarrassing. To stay with effects in the Monongahela, or to take a store on either of its banks would not do; for it would not be possible to vend the goods till winter, & then only by receiving produce, which could not be disposed of until the following spring or summer, nor, perhaps, without going to New Orleans. As to go to Kentucky was going farther from home, with no corresponding improvement in the prospect, & as to go to Muskingum was to encounter the risk of being cozened out of the whole; I bent my mind seriously on Wheeling, & decided with myself that that was the place for our concern to go to. Having made up my mind to that, I did not let "grass grow on my tracks," but settled business at Marietta with all expedition, & turned face up the river.

Arrived at Zane's Sunday, 26th July, in a deplorable condition. Stayed two days to clean up, & dry clothes & papers; & had great reason to expect the boat would be down, as the river had risen not a little. However, no such thing. Perhaps through feeling themselves very comfortable; perhaps because they did not care to encounter the hazards which beset all enterprises here just now, & run the risk of being plundered, or murdered even, by the Indians; my partners did not choose to quit the waters of the Monongahela. Having hired a store of Mr. Zane, I set off in quest of the boat. Went by land to Pittsburg, a distance of 60 miles, & then by water up the Monongahela, 21 miles, against a powerful current. At the mouth of the Yohogany I found the boat lying, and I must say with a feeling of no little vexation. Here I had been near a month beating about, exposed to hardships of one sort & another, heat, thunder storms, drenchings, loss of way in the forests, camping out on the wet ground, &c.; & here they were taking it easy, making no use of opportunity, &, with all their comforts about them, seem-

ingly content so to stay. Here I had toiled up to them, while there was nothing to prevent their drifting down to where I was—if they had so chosen. That I chafed inwardly there is no denying. I resolved to keep my feelings to myself, if I could; but to propose a breaking up of the concern. I reported the state of the country, & the difficulty, if not impossibility, of disposing of the goods to advantage, & proposed a dissolution of the partnership. Dr. Downer assented, said he would take his quota of the goods, & do the best he could for himself; but Mr. Breck did not care to venture himself alone, but preferred to continue the copartnery. The next day, the old concern broken up, & Dr. Downer having received his share, the boat was dropt down the river. We stopt three days at Pitt, one night at Big Beaver, & one day & two nights at Buffalo, & at 12, noon, on the 11th August, arrived safely at Wheeling. Next day unloaded the big boat, & put up the goods in the store. The situation is a pleasant & agreeable one; the store a new one, high on the bank of the Ohio, with a beautiful island, three miles long, stretching directly in front. From the new store, there is a delightful prospect, not only of this island, but a view also of two miles down the river. We are 96 miles from Pitt, 84 from Marietta, & 31 from Washington. Here the boats going either to or from the settlements, either above or below, always stop; here I am handy to the farmers; & here I can watch the markets at Marietta, & send them such supplies as are needed.

After a while it appeared advisable that friend Breck should take a trip to Muskingum, carrying goods with him for sale, such as he might hope to dispose of to advantage. Accordingly, on Monday, 17th August, he set off with goods to the amount of £75, lawful currency. Information received from him, from

time to time, will be very valuable. He may stay there, possibly, until we begin to think of going home.

Friday, 11th. Fine weather, the river low, & business continues dull.

Saturday, 12th. Warm & lowery. Have pickled 5 gallons of the best & largest peaches my eyes ever beheld. It takes only three of them to weigh a pound. Picked them all with my own hand, & took none but those which seemed to be the very best. The pickles I mean to send to Mrs. Harmar, Mrs. Battelle, Mrs. Zieglar. They will furnish something of a variety to them. Have also cut & dried a bushel of elegant peaches to put into the spirit to give it a flavor.

Sunday, 13th. A cool & agreeable day. Begins to look & feel like autumn. Feel the approaches of age as the days, months & years roll away. Think I am endeavoring to do my duty, yet I sometimes have my doubts whether I am not wrong in leaving my young family for so long a time. A higher power directs in these matters more than we do. The want of intelligence from home makes the time pass very heavily; and a breaking out all over torments me sadly, & I am dosing to try to be rid of it (Here quite a long passage in cypher).

Monday, 14th. Fine Fall weather.

Tuesday, 15th. Weather same as yesterday. How this breaking out does spread! Began about eight days ago with one large pimple on my back, the next day 2, the next 4, then 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, & so on in geometrical ratio. Ossa will be piled up on Pelion, if I don't find out some way to prevent their increase. Have taken 2 oz. glauber salts, am now taking *medicamentum.* Exposure, wilderness fare, & the Lord knows what company I have been in. I cannot explain it in any other way.

Wednesday, 16th. A fine day & all that.

Thursday, 17th. ditto. Did considerable business,

chiefly loading two floats down the river, Benjamin Hulen's & Jacob Fowler's, both bound for the Big Kenawha.

Friday, 18th. Awoke as usual just at the break of day. Heard talking out doors, supposed it might be strangers just arrived; and immediately arose, & dressed myself. Found people waiting for me. Purchased forty deer skins, & had them in my store before sunrise, a transaction which restored me a great deal to a better feeling. This while Br—n, who hangs about me like my shadow, was snoring in the other part of the building. I chuckled not a little, picturing to myself his astonishment when he would see the skins. Today Mr. John White came down the river. With him I traded to the amount of $25, and sent friend William (Breck) at Muskingum about £40 worth of goods.

Saturday, 19th. As heavy a fog as ever I saw. The clouds came down & rested upon us until 10 o'clock, when it cleared up into a fine day.

Sunday, 20th. This morning as foggy as yesterday. Employed, by myself, as usual, in the store, reading some, writing more. Since leaving Boston I have not slept one wink by daylight; therefor can accuse myself of no waste of time in that fashion,—as the way of some is, who feel themselves at leisure.

Monday, 21st. Foggy morning, but fine clear day, the sun very hot. We have had no rain for fourteen days. The Ohio lower than ever known; can be forded in many places. This gives great opportunity for the savages to cross over & do mischief, which has been frequent this summer. According to the best computation I can make, the Indians have killed in various places about fifty men & women, taken a number of prisoners, & carried off many horses.

Tuesday, 22nd. Still foggy in the early morning, but excellent clear weather when the fog has disap-

peared. Business dull, & not much for me to do but to watch the progress of affairs on the surface of my body. The first settlement made, there was speedily a separation into two families; & they soon began to emigrate & settle in different parts of the body; & these again to send out new colonies, till in fact they seem to have taken up all the ground, excepting some few necks & peninsulars. I am now recruiting forces to make a combined attack on them, with "horse foot & dragoons."

Wednesday, 23d. This day five months I left home little knowing what a painful experience was before me. Happy for mankind that they are not permitted to look into futurity, or scan the mighty maze through which we have to pass in the course of this life. It would paralyze the efforts of many, & beget indolence & idleness. Instead of attempting great projects, demanding courage & enterprise, they would settle down into utter sloth & supineness. When they are led on from one thing to another, & know not the end until they come right upon it (& then perhaps in some form wholly unexpected) they are receiving good they did not imagine, & doing good, perhaps, in shapes that did not enter into their plans. Much self-knowledge is gained in the process, that is certain; & much brought about, possibly, that other times & generations will feel the benefit of. Sometimes, when men attain to riches & honor, it cannot be attributed to their superior skill or knowledge; but their success must be set down to what we call, for want of a better name, Good Fortune. I have had a tolerable share of favors from luck, but this year it is against me. But old Job—whose condition by the way was not unlike mine—has put it much better than I have, "What? shall we receive good at the hand of God, & shall we not receive evil."?

Thursday, 24th. Fine dry weather, but not much business. In the evening arrived Dr. Downer, with

others from the South East. These Yankees certainly are not a quiet people, like the folks 'round here. One of them, in a very little time, will make more noise than ten Kohees. Was up till 12 o'clock at night writing letters to Muskingum, so as to send back the boat early in the morning.

Friday, 25th. (Written for the most part in cypher, ending with "wearisome nights are appointed unto me.")

Saturday, 26th. Rose early, & feel wretchedly. Having no assistance, am obliged to keep about, and do what little business I can. Wrote several letters to Muskingum, & had a chance to send them in the evening.

Sunday, 27th. Feel no better. Where the devil did this accursed Scotch Irish itch come from? I do believe I have it; but how I caught it there is no telling. To be sure there was company enough, & of all sorts too. Pandora, with her general assortment of plagues, must have been in her worst mood when she poured out this torment on mankind. How to get rid of it must be the question now. Scratching, with interludes of reading, has been the business of the day. (Here cypher.)

Monday, 28th. Slept none, and the day unspeakably wretched; but a great & unexpected relief came about 12 o'clock, viz. letters from Boston. These did real service, & were worth more to me than half a druggists stock in trade. "As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country." The river presents a true resemblance to the ups & downs of this mortal life. It is now very low, & even little boys can wade across it, in places. Looking at the river, I read a commentary on my own course of life. Although I have never risen so high as some have, so, on the other hand, I have not fallen so low as others. My pilgrimage has been a very checkered one. In very truth I must say, I

have experienced pangs of bitter woe in these two years past; but quoth Sam. Johnson, in lines I remember to have read somewhere,

> "By woe, the soul to daring action swells,
> By woe in plaintless patience it excells;
> From patience, prudence, clear experience springs,
> And traces knowledge thro' the course of things:
> Thence hope is formed, thence fortitude, success,
> Renown,—whate'er men covet & caress."

This afternoon some road makers were driven in by a party of Indians, how large I know not. These inroads are not infrequent, so common in fact that we think but little of them, perhaps not nearly so much as we should. I am generally prepared for them, with two pistols and two guns, properly loaded, besides a tomahawk at the head of my bed.

Tuesday, 29th. Nights as restless as ever, & I drag through my days heavily. Make out to do some business. Have taken in today several little parcels of sang (ginseng), bought 32 fox & wild-cat skins, receivel a canoe load of flour, whiskey, &c, &c.

Wednesday, 30th. Remarkably fine weather. The bottom of the river almost bare. The Indians, in several places, murdering, scalping, plundering.

Thursday, October 1st. A cold raw morning, & growing colder every day. Snow squalls in the course of the day. My landlord & several others gone a hunting. The Indians killed eight men, three days ago, at a little distance from this place. The next day, they killed or carried off into captivity four families. As I always sleep by myself in a lone log-store, I keep my arms constantly in good order. Tonight I shall load these arms, two with buck shot, and a ball in the other, besides my pistols which I lay at the head of the bed. If the yellow devils come, I intend to give them a proper blazing.

Friday, 2nd. No Indians last night, but a very heavy

frost, ice in many places, in fact winter seems to be close at hand.

Saturday, 3rd. This morning, my landlord came home, bringing with him the carcases of seven fine deer, some of them as fat as mutton. We shall live now on venison instead of bacon. A very cold, raw & lowery day; but one of the best days for business have had yet. Have taken in near 200 lbs of ginseng, 70 odd deer skins & bear skins, to the amount of upwards of £25, and delivered out the pay in goods, without help from any body; & this just what I like.

Sunday, 4th. A cold uncomfortable day. There have been severe frosts for three nights, and the days have also been cold. A Mr. Jones, a baptist preacher from near Philadelphia, came here last night, & preached today. I heard him all day. He is more than a middling preacher, & an agreeable companion to boot. This is the second time I have heard preaching since I left Boston. Although there is a holding forth every Tuesday by preachers of a certain stamp; whose yelling as if they would split their throats & damnation doctrine disgust me entirely. I can hear them well enough, if I have a mind to, without leaving the store.

Monday, 5th. The weather warmer. The river shrunk almost to nothing. Business dull, so am I.

Tuesday, 6th. Rose at 5, determined to mope no longer. Took my gun, & was over the hill just as the sun rose. Spied two fine turkeys at roost on a very high tree, fired at them with 13 buck shot, & killed them both. Was back home again when the sun was an hour high, & felt quite elated. Took in considerable sang (ginseng) & that about all.

Wednesday, 7th. A fine pleasant day. My skin troubles much abated. Have been hard at work all day handling sang. Have striven not a little to buy 2000 lbs of sang from a Kentucky Dutchman, but he

was solicitation proof; but I am determined to go at him again. Never since I became an inhabitant of this wicked world have I striven harder about business matters than during the last six months. I laid my plans, & was determined, if mortal ability would suffice, to execute them; but I have been baffled in every way. I have no idea of giving out. I had about as lief die as return defeated.

Thursday, 8th. Rainy morning, but a fine day. River beginning to rise, but slowly. Have been playing out my best cards to the Dutchman, but have not trumped him yet. Have kept his skin full, which is the way to deal with men of his kidney, & tried to prevent correspondence on his part with the many packers who come here for cargoes, lest he should send off his sang elsewhere.

Friday, 9th. Have had a good share of custom today, taken near a hundred weight of sang, by driblets, also some peltry. My Dutchman still holds out. During the night considerable rain with thunder.

Saturday, 10th. After some manœuvring, marching & counter-marching, attacks & feints, the bargain completed, my Dutchman capitulated; & was allowed to march out with all the honors of war. Closed the bargain with him for 1700 lbs. sang. Had to employ all my tactics, however; for two other men, as I have since found out, were working against me all the time. Whether this be a fortunate or an unfortunate purchase time must determine. It will at any rate take off some of my goods, & so far is a stroke towards deliverance & freedom. My unsold goods I must leave behind, or sacrifice.

Sunday, 11th. Improved the day as it ought to be spent.

Monday, 12th. Rose early, & went to business. The more fuss & bluster a man makes, in business as in other matters, the more credit he gets with some folks.

Must keep the drums a-beating & the colors a-flying, whatever I may think of the state of affairs in the camp. If I fail—thank the Lord I can say that—it will not be for want of effort on my part. Sure am I, I do more business in a day than neighbor Br—n in a month.

This morning a passenger down the river gave information of two lads, respectively 10 & 12 years of age, by name Johnstone, taken prisoners by two Indians in the Christian dress & wearing beaver hats. These Indians hung 'round till almost night, looking for horses, but finding none retired into the wilderness about 6 miles, taking the boys with them; & there, making a fire, laid down to sleep, each Indian having a boy on his arm. The boys, of course, did not rest quiet, but when they thought the Indians sound asleep, slipped down towards the fire. There they concerted a plan of killing the Indians, & escaping. The eldest took the lead. He seized one of the rifles, aimed it at the head of one of the Indians, & then passed it into the hands of his younger brother, enjoining him to fire when he saw him, the elder, strike the tomahawk into the head of the other savage. This was completed, according to the plan, the boys got safe away, &, coming back, informed the inhabitants that they heard their captors say, there were fifty warriors lurking 'round, about 25 miles off. This roused the people in alarm.

Tuesday, 13th. An uncomfortable day. A number of the stoutest & bravest men mustering to go on a hunt after the Indians made a considerable parade.

Our braves returned having found one of the Indians dead, but the other, with a ghastly wound, only half dead. He looked so horribly, they dared not go near him, but let him escape.

Thursday, 15th. A rainy day.

Friday, 16th. Rose early, took my gun, & was off

on another stroll for game. Was in luck again, killed three turkeys, & was back a little after sunrise. We have had a spell of snowing for four days, but little rain however. The river so low that there is no passing excepting in canoes. The sun has been scarcely seen for four days.

Saturday, 17th. Rose at day break, having been awake three hours, took my gun, & went into the woods. Kept a good lookout for Indians, but a better for turkeys. Killed four stout fellows, and wounded a fifth, which I chased till I was thoroughly blown; then turned & left him. Took the four dead ones, & came home, & found, by the time I got there, that I did not want the fifth, as I was well tired carrying the four. This hunting has become an old affair, and, as the charm is worn off, I believe I shall hunt no more. What I have done was done on principle, viz—to circulate the blood.

Sunday, 18th. Cloudy, raw, & cold. I am hankering to see the sun, also am desirous for Mr. Breck's return. I urged him to be here by the 15th inst. Ten days ago he wrote me on business matters, & the same day I had written to him he wrote to me. I trust he will see the necessity, now, at this part of the season, to be a-stirring.

Monday, 19th. Rose early, & have been full of business. Wheels & machinery well in motion now. Out of the twenty-four hours did not spend more than half an hour in eating. The rest of the time exerted every faculty and every limb. I trust I have now averted a defeat. I have a plan laid which if I can accomplish will throw me well ahead. My practice is, generally, to write till 11, & sometimes till 12 o'clock, at night; so that in fact I am in business eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. My last business is to write in this journal; and, consequently, under the circumstances, it cannot always be very correct. It will show one

thing at least, that, whatever I may have around me, I go to bed sober.

Tuesday, 20th. A busy day. Have a sore throat, & the middle finger of my right hand is much jammed. I can spare neither the finger, nor the organ of speech. Letters from Boston received by Walcutt.

Wednesday, 21st. Am using the day packing sang & putting casks in order. Wagon load of salt of John McCall, at 21/ per bushel, & shall load him back tomorrow. This the third wagon which has been here since it was settled. As to the Indians, they keep lurking 'round us. Some days two, & others three, are seen lurking about,—spies no doubt. As I sleep in a lone building, I keep my arms all loaded, near at hand, & ready to use at any moment.

Thursday, 22nd. Rose very early, & by 10 o'clock had loaded & sent away John McCall with seven large casks of ginseng & ten bundles of deer skins & furs. The whole weight 2000 lbs. I am to pay him £16 Penn^{a} money or 12″16 L. M. (lawful money?) His wagon loaded full. Mr. Breck not arrived. What sang I have taken is very good, but the people were loath to dig it at 1/6, and I would not take it if dug before the first of September. In 15 days from that time, there came a frost & rain, which knocked it all down, so that the diggers had only 15 days to work in. Some years it is good to gather till the middle of November. If it had been so this year it would have made some thousand weight difference in our favor.

Friday, 23d. A fine pleasant day, but I believe a weather breeder, for I feel wofully; head, heart & hands are all weary, and not being crowded with business I have had time & chance to find it out. This taking in & properly securing & packing deer skins, furs, sang, &c, is wearisome business for one pair of hands. In the space of one month I have taken in upward 2800 lbs sang, some of it quite green (this I have 3

for 1) & most of it wants sunning two, three, or four days, and, on account of showers sometimes, must be taken in three or four times a day. I have also taken about 1400 lbs of deer skins & furs. These also must be aired & packed in the nicest order. These all paid for in goods, & an account must be kept of all that goes out & all that comes in, which I have done in proper form. I sometimes write six, seven, or eight letters a day, never less than three. Besides which write in my journal every day. Have used up two boxes of wafers since I came from home. Certain it is I spend no idle time until 11 or 12 o'clock at night, then, sometimes, sleeping as I do in a lone house, I spend an hour or so in meditation. But I will not complain of my lot; for was I not, like the rest of my race, born to care & toil? Whither can I flee from the hurry of business, or whither shall I go from anxiety & care? If I go to the Western waters, behold it is there; if I return to Boston, lo it is there; if I take the wings of a ship, & escape to the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall its hand lead me, & its right hand shall hold possession of me. So, on the whole, it is best to keep on doing our duty, not fretting with what cannot be helped, & seeking to be content with what is allotted to us. However, it is much easier to talk or write about resignation than to practise it.

Saturday, 24th. This may be called a rainy day, the second I have seen since leaving Boston. These heavy, continuous rains, while they injure the roads, help the rivers, & mightily the poor travellers imprisoned at Redstone, in number upwards of 500 persons, many of whom have been detained there two months or more. Such will have reason to sing for joy. So rainy I have done no business, except to write two letters & post books, both by candle light.

Sunday, 25th. Late in the last evening, arrived two boats from Marietta. I saw them two miles off, &

knew them at once. Hoped Mr. Breck might be in one of them, but, very much to my disappointment, he was not. In one of the boats came as passenger a Mrs. Bilderback, who with her husband was taken by the savages at Short Creek, 8 miles from here, early in last July. The day after she was taken she was separated from her husband, & committed to the care of one Indian, who travelled with her alone fifteen days. When the rest of the band joined them, they had killed her husband, & brought his clothes to her, & showed them as a trophy. She was carried back into the wilderness to many of the Indian towns, & thence to the Miamis, where she was released. She is a young woman of about twenty-three years of age; & left behind her two children, one of which was a nursing child. When she went away from this place, I gave her calico enough to make slips for her children. These Kentuck fellows give me some annoyance. I went to my store on some little piece of business, when a number of them crowded in, drunk & noisy, and I could not get rid of them for two hours. I was obliged to pick a quarrel with one of them, & push him out. Where is Ben Hulen, with my mare and saddle? (Passage obliterated)

Monday, 26th. Lowery, cold weather, & but little a doing. Mr. Breck has not come, & I am weary waiting for him.

Tuesday, 27th. Tolerable weather. The river risen a very little. I went out in the morning, & shot two turkeys. In the evening—to my no small relief—Mr. Breck arrived.

Wednesday, 28th. Have been busy all day talking over matters & things with my partner. I am trying to persuade Mr. Breck to buy all the stock remaining on hand. Have inventoried the whole, & now make him an offer of a beaver hat & suit of broad-cloth clothes, if he will say what he will give & take. How-

ever, he is very different in temperament from myself, & moves slowly. I shall not know anything about it till he has chewed the cud upon it awhile, in the morning, perhaps, after he has slept upon it.

Thursday, 29th. A rainy day. After breakfast Mr. Breck announced that he had concluded to take the hat & clothes & set a price. This suits me exactly; & he agrees to give £190 for the stock. He has my note for the hat & clothes.

Friday, 30th. Employed in settling accounts, & arranging matters with Mr. Breck, packing sang, deer skins, &c. The river risen 6 feet. A Mr.* Woodbridge, with a young family, from Norwich (Connecticut), arrived here, this evening, bound for Marietta.

Saturday, 31st. Closed matters with Mr. Breck. Assisted in fitting out Mr. Woodbridge. About sunset, Mr. Parsons arrived from Fort Pitt, & brought a budget of letters, the postage 7/, one of them dated as early as July, & others as late as 4th October.

Sunday, November 1st. Feeling somewhat at leisure, I put on my ruffled shirt and best clothes, which I have not done before since I came here, & went up the river, two miles, in a canoe, to visit a Mr. Martin & lady, who live on the Indian shore. We dined on venison, corn pork, & plenty of roots & vegetables. This Mr. Martin married a daughter of my landlord, some time ago, & went on to the place where he is now living, this Spring. He has a fine family already, has built a house, raised ten acres of corn, put in ten acres of wheat, & withal added another baby to the family. If people out here—such is the fertility of the soil, & such the abundance of good things—can manage to build them a log-hut near some good spring of water, & plant them a little land with corn, they are rich enough. The woods will furnish them with plenty of

* This may be Mrs. It is difficult to make out whether the writer intended to write Mr. or Mrs.

superfluities. Turkey are much more numerous here than in our country, & as yet much fewer people to eat them.

Monday, 2nd. Spent this day in bargaining with Mr. Breck relative to the homeward bound goods, & finally closed with him.

Tuesday, 3rd. Busy in settling accounts with my old customers all 'round, arranging matters with my late partner, &c. &c.

Wednesday, 4th. Rode out seven miles to see a Mr. Hall, who is to carry my things over the mountains at 15/ per hundred. I suffered severely from cold. It snowed all the fore part of the day, & the snow lay on the mountains four inches thick.

Thursday, 5th. Another cold day. But I had business enough to keep me warm, dispatching my skins & sang, (14 horse loads) weight about 2900 lbs. This carried on horses 250 miles. Each horse has a bell, & there is a driver to every five horses. Tomorrow I set my face towards HOME.

Friday, 6th. Spent the fore part of the day in writing letters to Muskingum, packing my clothes, &c. Dined at 2 o'clock. At 3 left Wheeling, without company, to traverse the woods to West Liberty, a distance of 12 miles. After laboring with extremely bad roads, & crossing the creek seventeen times, I at length reached the place at 6 o'clock, without any accident except losing my spur. I look upon this 12 miles as being as good as a day's work, after having gone through all the ceremonies of quitting my old habitation & connexion.

Saturday, 7th. Rose at day break, & sallied forth to look up a spur somewhere; but to no purpose. It turned out a rainy day. I am afraid I shall have to wait till tomorrow for the packers; & having started homewards, feel a little impatient. Besides I have a visit or two to make at the mouth of the Buffalo; &

probably shall go to Fort Pitt before I begin in earnest to climb the mountains.

Sunday, 8th. Rained all day, yesterday, and as black an evening as ever I saw. My packers not come, therefore I spent Sunday at Major Sprig's at West Liberty. This a good publick house in a pretty little village, only two years old, the seat of Justice for Ohio county. It contains upward of thirty dwelling houses, most of which are taverns. Late at night the weather cleared up, at 12 o'clock, & today is very pleasant.

Monday, 9th. Left my bed at 2 o'clock, A. M. called up the host, and it being a fine, bright, moonshining morning, assisted the packmen for some time. Took breakfast, and at 5 o'clock set off for Washington, in company with the packers. We had eighteen horses loaded, & five men who took care of them, each man having a horse. There were two other men besides myself. So that in the troop there were twenty-six horses, & eight men,—a small number. I travelled with them only two hours. They moved so slowly, & made such a confusion, that I was glad to be quit of them, & to start off through the wilderness alone. Traversed most intricate paths, through mud often up to the horse's belly. However, I made out to reach Washington in ten hours, a distance of 21 miles. In that distance was quite lost three times. I am fairly tired, & so is my little rockaway, for it has been very warm. We both of us have sweated like rain. I mean to tarry at this place till the packers come up.

Tuesday, 10th. In the course of four days, I have made out, with great industry, to get 51 miles from Wheeling. Saturday I didn't ride, it being rainy; but studied, which shakes up one's brains quite as much as the riding does the rest of the body. At 7 o'clock, last evening, my packers arrived, having passed the wilderness of 21 miles.

Wednesday, 11th. A bright night when I went to

bed; but in the night there sprung up a violent storm of wind & rain, which lasted till morning. Rose at the usual hour, had my horse fed, & brought up, & about sunrise mounted him. Had not ridden far before it set in to rain. The roads bad enough before, now became worse. I rode in the rain 11 miles, through a wild country where I saw no houses. Glad was I when this stage ended. While I was eating my breakfast, the weather cleared up, & became very warm. I made out to cross the Monongahela, and arrived at Summerill's ferry on the Yohogany at sunset, tired & sick.

Thursday, 12th. Feel poorly this morning. Have taken cold, or rather the distemper which rages every where on this side of the Alleghany mountains. Ate breakfast here, and at 9 o'clock set out on my lonely journey. Such travelling! However, I made out 20 miles, & put up at Antford's, the Dutchman, where were not less than fifty souls. Among these was a Mr. Linsey, with a family consisting of himself, wife, & nine children, bound for Kentucky. They appear to be a family of note.

Friday, 13th. Rose early, pursued my journey, with roads in a worse condition than yesterday, & myself sicker. But across the Laurel mountains, & arrived at Ankelley's (?), sun half an hour high, I was glad to rest. I made out 22 miles. If my horse had not been of the first quality, I should not have travelled 10 miles.

Saturday, 14th. Rose at 5 o'clock, called up the boy who slept in the same chamber, & had him make the fire. Then I got up & dressed, but was much fitter to keep my bed, for I was really sick. But if it is dreadful for a traveller, at a little distance from home, to give out & lay sick at a tavern, it is much more so when at a distance of 450 miles away. Accordingly, I summoned all my resolution, & banged round till it was light, when I mounted, & sticking to my text better

than parson —— does to his, rode 36 miles, to Todd's tavern. On the crest of the Alleghany mountains to day. When I was on the top was on the ridge pole of the continent.

Sunday, 15th. Last night, soon after I put up, came on a severe thunder gust. One bolt of the lightning struck within seventy rods of my quarters. The clap which followed was as heavy & as handsome as ever I heard. Had good entertainment here, but I was so sick I could not enjoy it. Rose at 6, but although it had not ceased raining, & I was in snug quarters, & sick enough to lie by, the idea of approaching winter & of the great distance I was from home overpowered every other consideration, & urged me on. Crossed the Sideling Ridge, & travelled 35 miles.

Monday, 16th. Arrived at John McCall's, Fort Louden, very tired & sick. In coming over the last mountains I rode through a heavy thick cloud. Here I was almost frozen, although on both sides the mountain it was hot & smoking. While in the cloud, which was about half an hour I could detect the odor of sulphur plainly; and my kentsloper was nearly wet through, although it did not rain.

Tuesday, 17th. Little rest last night, & feel wretchedly today; but the thought of winter & the journey still before me keeps me on my legs. This day agreed with John McCall to carry my skins & furs to Philadelphia, & also agreed with Jeremiah Hamilton to take two (?) wagon loads of sang to Baltimore. The distance to Philadelphia 150 miles, to Baltimore 98. I pay £5 per ton to Baltimore, and £9 per ton to Philadelphia. These loads are to start on Thursday 19th inst. At the same time I start for Baltimore, with intention to do what business I have there, & then meet my wagon at Philadelphia. This is a hard stint I have set myself, but I must strain every nerve & muscle to perform it, keeping home in view enough to clap the

spur into me once in awhile, but not so much as to interfere with business. To day has been warm & smoky. Last (?) Saturday night was a great *aurora borealis,* or Northern light, said to be the greatest ever known in these parts; but I have seen greater in our section.

Wednesday, 18th. Took breakfast at Capt. Pattens, and at 10 o'clock set off for Mercersburg. On my way bought seven barrels of flour, three superfine @ 28/ and four fine @ 26/. I bought these to make three tons. Being obliged to pay for tons, I am determined they shall carry it. I arrived at Mr. Erwin's at 12 o'clock, in hopes to find my packers there, but they had not come. It is a cold, but fine clear day.

Thursday, 19th. Raw, cold. Packers not come. Took my horse & went back to North Mountain. Here I found them, at 3 o'clock, P. M. I hurried them on; & arrived back at my lodgings at sunset. The wagoners were waiting here. I set to work without delay, & had them loaded by 8 o'clock in the evening, & then tired & sick went to bed.

Friday, 20th. Rose as soon as it was light. Settled with the packers, & started the wagons off. Then set out myself for Baltimore, & although the days are mere nothing arrived at Tanney town, a distance of 50 miles, & here slept.

Saturday, 21st. Rose at daybreak, & set out immediately. Had ridden about 5 miles when it commenced raining, & continued to rain all day. Nevertheless, rode 42 miles, & put up at Burn's, at sunset, within 8 miles of Baltimore.

Sunday, 22nd. Up as soon as could be, & pushed on for Baltimore, where I arrived at 8 o'clock in the morning. Had but just put up at Starrik's, when there came on a violent gust of snow & hail which lasted fifteen minutes. I was glad to be comfortably housed.

Monday, 23d. Find fatigue is almost wearing me out. Feather beds seem likely to finish what influenza

began; & there has been a violent attack on my poor shattered lungs. Hope to feel better tomorrow, when I shall be expecting the wagons. Dined today with Mr. Crosby, the dishes being salt-fish & roast chickens.

Tuesday, 24th. This is the fortieth anniversary since my lungs began to blow; and now it is very certain they are much out of repair. Feather beds & ropy air prove to be too much for them. I have great reason for thankfulness that I have been preserved so many years, through all I have gone through. Spent the evening with my friends at Mr. Crosby's.

Wednesday, 25th. My wagons did not arrive till 12 o'clock. Still unwell. Impatience has got strong hold upon me. Signs of an approaching storm, sky wild & angry, the tides swell, & every bone & every old scar & wound announce the approaching war of elements. The results of my summer's work are lying unloaded on the wharf; & it is quite uncertain whether I can get them on board the only vessel now in Baltimore bound for Boston. I am under the necessity of being in Philadelphia in two days to receive my other wagon; & tomorrow is Thanksgiving day throughout the states. A pretty situation for a man who is sick enough to be abed. But I rely on Him who never fails the man who tries to do his duty. My faith does not fail me that I shall yet accomplish all these things.

Thursday, 26th. The last night exceedingly stormy; and a wearisome night was appointed unto me. This morning by no means favorable to travellers. If I wait till the storm is over, I have a prospect of company to Philadelphia; and on all accounts I believe it is prudent I should. But disappointment in regard to my plans prevents all enjoyment. At 12 the rain abated, & I set off. Rode 13 miles to Skerrett's, when it came on to rain again. Dinner being ready, we stopt over. As it continued to rain hard, & Gunpowder Falls were impassable, we staid all night.

Friday, 27th. Rose early, & with difficulty got across those ugly dangerous falls. Breakfast at Bush town; thence rode 12 miles to the Susquehanna, and dined. The tides were tremendously high yesterday, [but] had run out so low, & the wind was so very strong down the river, both boats were fast aground. We could not cross till sunset. We then crossed 6 miles to Charlestown, where we slept. In crossing the Susquehanna my friend's horse jumped overboard. Previous to that mishap I had lent him my blanket & surcingle; and both accordingly got wet through.

Saturday, 28th. Rose at 5 o'clock, A. M. and, using all the art & industry I was master of, got away at a ¼ after 6, it being still dark as night & very lowery. After riding about two miles in the dark, became suspicious, from the way in which the wind struck me, that I was wrong. Soon came to a little hut, where I hailed. The people inside answered, that I was astray. Turned about, and with the loss of 1½ miles, recovered the right ground, & stood for Philadelphia, where I arrived at 9 o'clock, much fatigued, after a ride of 16½ miles, in a thick fog. Forgot to mention in the proper place, that the name of my companion from Baltimore is Lowell (?) from London, a worthy good man, of about fifty years of age. He & I together met with many difficulties by reason of floods, and the almost total desertion of the Susquehanna waters [of their usual channels.] The poor man was so fatigued with riding 40 miles, & his saddle chafed him so badly that I lent him my blanket & surcingle to ease him somewhat; but in crossing the ferry his horse got overboard; & all his baggage, my blanket included, got wet. Yesterday, early in the morning, he met his wife & family, travelling, Baltimore-wards, in the stage. A fortunate circumstance for him, as he was nearly beat out, and was going to Philadelphia to fetch them. He proved to be a man of rather more feeling than usual; for, on

parting with me, he wept, thinking of the variety of scenes we had passed through together, & in so short a time.

I performed the rest of the journey with diligence. Rode through the State of Delaware, with the usual traveller's experience, eating, drinking, oating. Just as I was out of it, 6 miles beyond Chester, at a quarter of a mile's distance, I observed a great concourse of people, at the other end of the plain; & soon was met by two boys & some men leading out a couple of fine looking horses for a race. I expected them soon after me, & under some apprehensions of a mishap in that case, crowded sail to get out of the way. I had but just joined the crowd when the two boys, mounted on the steeds, began the race; and, in less than a minute, one of them had his brains dashed out against a tree. Thus ended the horse race & the life-race both together. Good God! what can be more uncertain than this human life!

Sunday, 29th. Kept house all day at Nickols's, in Market st. sign of the sign of Connastago wagon. I expected to find my wagon waiting for me; but as I was obliged—dot 'em—to wait for them, this did not prove a particularly comfortable or edifying day.

Monday, 30th. Having a mattress to sleep on, had a good night's rest, & rose something brighter than usual. Found my wagon arrived. Went to the post-office & found letters both from my partner & from my friend, for which I here record my thanks. Have been busy all day in unloading my wagon, settling with the wagoners, & looking up purchasers for the load they brought. Think I shall find a middling market for my skins. Also found that there were two schooners in port belonging to Boston, owned by E. Parsons. In one of them I intend to send some freight.

Tuesday, 1st December. Rose with so severe a head ache that at 3 o'clock in the afternoon I was obliged

to quit business; having sold all my skins & furs; and settled with McCall, having paid him £25″ 0s″ 9d for one load from Wheeling to Philadelphia. I have bought about 1000 lbs sang for deer skins, pound for pound. I should nearly have completed my business in this place, if my head had not been full of pain. I am quartered in a noisy house, where are sixteen members of Convention, besides the usual transient custom.

Wednesday, 2nd. Pleasant weather. This day settled all my business in Philadelphia.

Thursday, 3rd. Rose in the morning, undetermined whether to set out or not, but at 10 o'clock the spirit moved too strongly to be resisted, & I budged; the idea of being homeward bound adding fresh strength to man and horse; and by half past 5 had ridden 37 miles, and put up at Maidenhead. It has been very windy & cold all day, & it was with difficulty I crossed the Delaware.

Friday, 4th. Rose at 5 o'clock, & by 6 was started. Kept constantly in motion, except one hour at breakfast, & half an hour to oat at 2 o'clock. Made out to ride 46 miles, & slept at Elizabeth's town. The day has been cold & windy.

Saturday, 5th. Was up at 6 o'clock, and as soon as the day broke was on the road. Arrived at Newark, 6 miles, it was so cold I stopped & took breakfast; & then was off again on my last stage to New York. Was detained one & half hours at the three ferries, and arrived in the city at 12. When half way over the North river, it came on to snow, and continued snowing till evening, when it turned to rain.

Sunday, 6th. A fine clear day. My breeches have such holes at the knees that I hold myself excused from going to meeting; but this is no excuse for not keeping the day as it ought to be kept, namely as a day of rest. Am lodged in a house resembling Noah's ark, in one respect certainly, inasmuch as it is filled

with all sorts of creatures. Shall quit as soon as I can.

Monday, 7th. Day employed in settling with Col Richard Platt. Called on Mr. Thompson, in whose hands I left several notes for collection. He had entered suit against S—— K——, & will be able to receive the money in January. Passed this city of New York as it were in review before me, in its business aspects that is. A hive of bees seems to be the suitable emblem by which to describe it.—a hive in the summer, when Nature has decked the earth with all kinds of flowers, & the bees do not work without their pay: neither will these New Yorkers, for they will not hand you over something for nothing—not even civility—unless they get back their quid pro quo in profit. All Yankees who resort hither, & mind their own business, find their account in it.

Tuesday, 8th. At 10 o'clock, A. M. left New York, & rode the first stage of 20 miles; then oated my horse, & refreshed myself. Thence on to Horse-neck. Am once more in the land of abundant stone-wall, and of large droves of fat hogs; where, moreover, the women, besides having handsome faces, wear blue stockings & ride on pillions. A windy day & cold this has been.

Wednesday, 9th. Rose at 6 o'clock, & started on my journey immediately. A cold stinging morning; and the roads not only very hilly & stony, but also very rough & hobbly. I nevertheless made out to ride 37 miles to Stratford. Find I have taken a bad cold, & am almost sick.

Thursday, 10th. Rose at day-break, and a little before sunrise started. Rode two miles to the Housatonic river, got up the ferryman, & crossed; kept on to New Haven, & there breakfasted at 11 o'clock. The morning cold & frosty, & the road very hobbly. Made out a ride of 42 miles, & slept at Fuller's in Berlin. Far from well all day, am feverish, am all but sick, believe I may say—quite.

Friday, 11th. Rose at the usual hour, rode to Wethersfield, & breakfasted at H. May's. He went on with me to Hartford see his daughter Sh—— [or to see his daughter's children?] Had not been there more than an hour before it set in to rain, & continued raining heavily all day & night, but cleared away in the morning, leaving the roads muddy exceedingly.

Saturday, 12th. Left Hartford at 10 o'clock. It was a very cold windy day, but I made out to ride to Ashford by the time it was dark.

Sunday, 13th. Was up at the dawn of day, after a night of but little sleep; & was off by 7 o'clock. It was a cold stinging morning, and the road all hillocks & holes, slippery with ice, & broken with hobbles. It took four hours to go to my brother's, in which time suffered much from cold, as I had to creep along with patience almost exhausted.

Monday, 14th. At Pomfret today. Went on foot to S. E. Williams's, but he was gone to town meeting. So I kept on to the meeting house, did my business with him, and returned to sister Sabin's at 1 o'clock, & there dined at 2. After that paid a visit to sister Silas, & slept there. Since Tuesday last, have been quite unwell, & have had but little sleep.

Tuesday, 15th. Breakfasted at Pomfret, and at 10 o'clock, A. M. set out on my last division for Boston. Found the roads as bad as usual. With only one hour's cessation rode till dark, arrived at Ammidon's, & slept.

Wednesday, 16th. Rose early, & by diligent travelling arrived at Boston at 5 o'clock, P. M. with a thankful heart, and mind immensely relieved. Found the dear family in a good condition of health, and I believe as glad to see me as I was to see them. It was pleasant, most pleasant, to see them where they were—in old Boston; but—truth to tell—I should prefer to see them all together in that beautiful land of abundance from which I came, where in time industry is sure to be as profitable as it is honorable.

THOMAS RODNEY.

BY SIMON GRATZ, ESQ.

(Continued from page 65.)

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Washington, M. T. May 2d. 1809.

My dear Son

Yours of the 19th of March came to hand by the Mail before last but I was absent when the Mail returned—*My advice respecting yourself you will find in a former Letter.* The appointments mentd. by you Came on in the papers before your Letter—I doubt whether the government can part with Mr. Gallatin Conveniently at this Important Crisis at least—His turn of mind sutes his office and he is a Vigilent officer & pays great attention to his department in and altho he is not a favorite of mine I shall not deny him what he merits—I like Economy but not that partial kind which deals out money too liberal in some directions and too nigardly in others—Genuine Economy is uniform and always (in governments) aught to be Impartial [?] for as Constitutionally public money is a Compensation for public Services—it aught always to be in proportion to the services—The Partial Repeal of the Embargo has been of no benefit here to the Price of Cotton—It got up to 13 dols but has fallen again to ten a hundred—By our latest accounts (to wit to the 16th of Janr.) the French have beat the Brittish out of Spain so that no doubt the Emperor is in full possession of that Country—I presume this will bring about Peace unless England should Determine to defend the Spanish American Colonies, who seem to aim at Independence (which I wish them to obtain) but in this Case Napoleon will

turn all his force against England herself in good Earnest to destroy her. Present my Respects to M^r^. Poindexter. I am sorry he did not succeed but tell him that such things sometimes turn out for the better in the End—I mentioned to Major Carter & M^r^. Stark his being in want of money and they are Exerting themselves to dispose of his Cotton to the best advantage. I have not written to M^r^. P. D. Expecting that if he was appointed he would have Come on but will write as I now presume he will attend the Ensuing Sessions of Congress.

Judge Leak rides the Spring Circuit but as soon as the Supreme Court is over will set off for his family and probably will not return till next Spring so that the laboring oar will fall on me again unless our new Judge M^r^. Martin Comes on—Gen^l^. Wilkinson is at Orleans and as the Brittish are busy in the French West Indies, will probably have nothing to do, and it is said will move most of the troops to this territory on acc^t^. of their health but your information will be better than mine on this subject—We have had green peas here two weeks, and my wheat will be fit to cut this week—Wheat that grows here is equal to that of Delaware or Maryland—and the ground produces more. I raised last year about 45 bush^s^ on an acre & a half and this year 1 acre will produce 20 to 25 bus^l^.

I have not heard from Dover or Delaware for a long time—Know not what has become of them—

Thomas Rodney

P. S. The People of this Territory are a mixed multitude and Include a great Variety of Caractors among those are Some who Fled here to the Brittish in the Early part of our Revolution—Some who came while the Spaniards Ruled here—There are too renegades from the States who having been punished there fly here where they are not known—Some of them reform and become good Citizens—others pursue their Evil

way and give our Courts some trouble—But the far greater part of the Citizens are good Republicans and are animated by a firm active and Energetic Spirit of Patriotism not Exceeded in any of the States—They turned out to oppose Burr's Conspiracy with such readiness and alacraty as Military Men that nothing more [torn] have been asked of them—Yet [torn] they approved the general tenor of the [torn] President's Conduct they were Induced by some Circumstances to believe that his Mind had been prejudiced in some Degree by Misrepresentations against the Inhabitants of this Territory—This they Attributed to person who they thought did not Merit so much of his Confidence—There are few more generally acquainted with the People here than I am—and I believe that on any ardent & just occasion the Republicans would support the General Government with as much Energy and Alacraty as any part of the Union I mention this to dispel any unfavorable Ideas that may have been Entertained at Head Quarters—In fact this territory is the Bullwork of the western Country.

T. R.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town Washington M. T. Sept^{r}. 30th 1809.

My dear Son

I flattered myself some time ago with the hope of having it in my power to visit my friends in Delaware next Winter but Judge Leak went off for his family last June and is not expected back Untill next Spring; and Judge Martin of N. C. our new Judge has not yet arrived nor is it known here when he will come—I received a Letter from him in July in which he proposed being here in that month but July, August & September have passed away and we have heard nothing further from him, so that the whole duties of the Superior Judiciary have remained on my Hands since May, and

I have three or four Counties yet to hold the fall Circuit Courts in two others I have already passed through. It is not only Expensive but laborious to be on the Circuit and sit alone for better than two months, Especially in such Uncomfortable Court Houses as we have yet in this new Country—I sincerely hope that when there is occasion to appoint another judge for this Territory that some gentleman of the Law in the Territory will be preferred—Our gentlemen at the bar here are numerous and many of them not inferior to any that Can be had in the States who would come to this Country.

Special Pleading is adhered to in our Courts perhaps with as much Strictness Elegance and propriety as in any of the States, so that Even the Young Lawyers are obliged to read their books and be very attentive to their business or want bread—beside there are several gentlemen in the territory who have read the Law but have declined the practice—I have said this much because for 4 years past I have felt the burthen and inconvenience both to myself, by being left so often alone, and to the people by the delay of their business as it requires two Judges to hold the Supreme Court and there are so many Counties that one judge unless he had an Iron Constitution Cannot attend them all the full time required to git through the business of each—But the unfortunate situation of the Country for want of a market makes delay at present no very great inconvenience—Indeed there is so little money, and the Country so much in debt that if the Courts were to go through their business, the Country would be in a great measure ruined; for the most wealthy people in it cannot pay their debts at this time—Yet when this is the Case Suits are always multiplied.

We hear that the Brittish Minister which was promised to settle all our Differences has arrived—But after the principles they have avowed; and their Condem-

nation of the Conduct of M^r^. Erskine, what can they propose that will not condemn their own Cabinet or offend ours? Their disposition has been uniformly offensive toward the U. S. since the Peace of 1783 to this time—is the outrage they have Committed on the Conduct of their own Minister because he Endeav^d^. to assuage the irretation, any Evidence of their Intention to propose anything reasonable or Acceptable to us? Certainly not. What then is left for us to do? Must we shut ourselves up in our own Country and all our Surplus produce, and all our Shiping be left to rot and waste on our hands? The People Indeed have bourne this, while there was a prospect of its producing advantageous Effects, but will the Enterprising Spirit and Industry of the Americans bare to have their hands always tied? I presume not—What Else can they do? Is it not time after so many outrages, and provocations for them to range all their Marshal spirit, all their Virtue & Patriotism, all their Energy and fire, and Present a firm, bold, determined and warlike Front to Great Brittain; and tell them as we did heretofore, that since Every peaceable and persuavive Measure has faild, we are prepaired to defend our rights at the point of the Bayonet?

But I still hope that the people will Confide in the wisdom of our government, and that they will pursue those measures that will be most calculated to secure the safety and promote the prosperity of our Country.

General Wilkinson and a Considerable part of the army are Expected at Fort Dearbourn near this town in a few days—The Gen^l^. wishes to reside in town but will find it difficult to git a House that will be Convenient—It has been more sickly here than usual—The new Gov^r^. has been sick almost Ever since he came, and his fevers still pursue him but Intermit—I have had several short attacks but as I am my own Physician, I soon git well; yet I have to avoid the sun as much as

possible as the heat of the Climate is the Chief adversary—The Gov^{r}. has appointed M^{r}. Shields Att^{y}. General of the Territory—he has attended in that office at the Circuit Courts in the two uper Counties, and acquitted himself very handsomly. Since I wrote to you last I have visited the Walnut hills, and two small tracts of land I have there—two young gentlemen of the bar went up with me, M^{r}. Sturgers of Kentucky, and M^{r}. W. D. Winston of Virginia. We had three Fishing parties on the great fishing Lake while up; and Caught an abundance of fine Fish; and had our feast served up on the bank, near a fine spring of sweet water—but while up and Endeavour^{s}. to Explore the Country round my own land one very warm day, the Cane was so strong and thick that we could not proceed far—Yet not liking to be disappointed I fatigued myself into a fever which returned after Intermitting the third time before I attempted to Check it. Then I began with the White Oak bark tea made cold and very weak—and the Fever was off in less than 2 days—and Indeed Ceased Immediately to Interrupt my riding—Since I have been here, I have found it far more Efficatious than the Peruvian bark, & so do all who use it and it is much pleasanter being neither bitter nor sour. Its cooling Estringency is what subdues the fever—It must be put in Cold water and will be strong Enough to take in ten minutes—M^{r}. G. Ross of Orleans but formerly of Pensylvania Called to see me yesterday and said he passed 2 or 3 months in Delaware and left you well—This is the first I have heard of you for several months Past Except by Major Carter on his return. He informed me that M^{r}. & M^{rs}. Poindexter Intended to spend the summer at Winchester so that I suppose you will not see them till Congress meets; before which time I shall write to him if the Courts do not prevent it. Give my love to Susan [torn] Children —I can only say I wish to see them, without having

any prospect of it at present—but when Leake and Martin both arrive, I think I may be Excused in a trip to Delaware—Present my respects to the President If he remembers their fate in 1781, he will not dread the Brittish in 1810.

Thomas Rodney

P. S. Stuborn facts show that Napoleon got a sore drubbing on the Danube—but it will only retard the fate of Austria & Spain a little longer—Bonaparts Mission will probably not end untill he Restores the Jews as he has promised to do—When Providence designs to destroy a Nation it turns their wisdom into folly—The Conduct of G. B. Indicates that they however Potent at present, are in the road to Destruction. The U. S. thrown into the scale of her Enemies must bare her down.

Thomas Rodney to William Duane,
Editor of the Aurora, Philadelphia.

Town of Washington M. T. Nov^{r}. 3^{d} 1810

D^{r}. Sir

I sincerely thank you for the firm and steady manner in which you have advocated and supported the Union, and the Federal Government of the United States; and for the firm and Constant watch and guard which you have kept against the Tyrany and wicked designs of Great Brittain; for she in fact is our only Enemy, our only inveterate adversary; the only Power in Europe which wishes and seeks to subvert our Union and Independence: All Europe beside are Interested in our welfare and Independence, and of Course are our friends; well knowing that while we maintain our Union and Independence the Naval Tyrant of the Seas can never prostrate the World again at his feet—As to the Sons of Erin Let them fly to America as fast as they can; they never can Expect to Enjoy Liberty under the Brittish Government; and we have Vacant Lands suffi-

cient for them all where they will enjoy all the Sweets of Liberty—And they deserve to be received with open arms by the Americans, from the noble part which most of them, then among us, acted in our Revolution—and from the friendly dispositions which those now in Erin shewed in favor of our Liberty and Independence—As to the Floridas, we aught to acquire them in some way —Yet the Mode or Manner of doing this must be left to the Federal Government; But Every Citizen has a right to advise them on this head. I would not take any undue advantage of the present disordered State of the Spanish Empire; but as there can be little doubt but that the Emperor of the French will accomplish the Conquest of Old Spain and Portugal in Europe, I am Clearly of Opinion that if the Spanish Colonies in America have the Spirit and Courage to assert their Independence, it will be the Interest and even the duty of the United States to befriend them.

I am with friendly respect

Y^{r}. most obedient

Thomas Rodney

N. B. You may make such use of this letter as you think proper; but need not Expose my *name* unless you think it material.

Note—In 1722 there were about 200 Inhabitants at New Orleans, The Chief Fort however was on the Mobil —The governm^{t}. had been on Isle Measure or Cat Island—but the harbor being stoped up was removed to the mainland on the Coast of Beloxi about 14 leagues to the west of Mobile between Pensacola & Pearl Rivers—It is called 27 leagues from Mobile to Pensacola and from that to St. Joseph 20 leagues; and from that to St Marks on the Appacacha River 30 leagues All this barren Coast of Land is Sandy but the waters abounds with fine fish and Oysters and the Islands with game—wild fowl Larks and Woodcocks.

Charle Voiux Vorager

In the Latter part of 1722 Bienville, then Govr. of Louisiana moved the Seat of Governmt. to N. Orleans—Pensacola had been taken by the French in 1720—but at the Peace of 1722 was restored to the Spaniards—and held by them untill Ceded to Britton in 1763. The Canadian French first discovered the Misisipi in 1763 at the Illinois—and in 1682 Monr. De Salle Descended that Great River to its mouth—

The Country of the Arkanzas or Arkansaw is Disscribed by Charle Voiux and Boisour as well as De la Viga to be the finest in Louisiana.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington, M. T. Novr. 7th. 1810.

My dear Son

For three or four days past the weather has been Cool and moist after a drouth of 3 months, and for many weeks the atmosphere has been a mere Cloud of dust and of course unfavorable to those who were sick and low, yet it has not been generally to say sickly—Since the cool moist weather set in it has braced me considerably and I feel much better and begin to Eat and increase a little in Strength but am still so weak can take but little Exercise—Col. Tilton arrived at Orleans after a Voiage of 4 weeks and four days—He wrote to me the 26th of last month that he would Cross the Lakes and be at the Landing on this side on Saturday last (the 3d of this Instant) so that I expect him here this Evening or tomorrow—The old Register T. H. Williams is now here and will be ready to deliver over the Records and Office Papers to the new Register—The former being now Collector of the Port of Orleans was to have been there by the 20th of last month but was taken very ill here and is still Confined. I told him of Col. Tiltons appointment to succeed him here in the Registers Office and he wished the Col. to arrive before he left here that he might Deliver over the Office

Records & papers himself which will now be the Case—
Mr. Poindexter was at Orleans when Col. Tilton arrived there but was to sail (I believe for Baltimore) the 27th of last month—Young Robert Benvist brother to Mrs. Shields goes round with Poindexter to complete his Education at the University of Philada. And his friends (as they design him for the Law) are very Desirous that he should read & study that Science in your office and under your direction. They were anxious that I should write to you by him but I was not well enough to write when they left here; and I advised them that you could hardly reply positively to his application to study with you untill you shall know how he Conducts himself at the University—I think Robert has promising talents, and he has generally Conducted himself Prudently here where he had all his friends around him and has been I am informed anxious to learn, but as I was not at the last Examination of our Schools I do not know how far he is advanced in his Education—Young Robert Dunbar Unkle to Mrs. Shields has also gone on to the University of Philada. but his Parents and friends have said nothing to me respecting him, tho all the family, which is very large, are very friendly toward me, and are most of them wealthy Planters—Both these boys have hansome Property that with Industry & Economy (for which the family are remarkable) may become wealthy in this country The Country between the Arkinsaw and the Great River Misisipi is reported by De la Viga (De Sotos Historian) by Carle Voiux and by Boson to be the Richest and finest tract of Country in all Louisiana. I am anxious if I recover my health to git round next spring to see if one (or a Company) could not procure a tract of Land in that part of the Country (which was lately Ceded to the United States by the Osage Nation) which would make it worth while to form a Considerable Settlement there. If this Could be done I would on

my Return Explore that part of this Country, and fix on the most Eligible part to lay out such a tract and form a Settlement—The tract of fine Country is large and few or no Indians in it, and no white people only low down on the Arkinsaw, and on the banks of the Misisipi. Whereas the finest part of the Country lies higher up the Arkinsaw and between the Low Grounds of that River and the Misisipi. The Land is high and level and much like our lands in Little Creek and Duck Creek necks as to soil—The Pecans and other nut and fruit trees grow over it and all the timber, and trees are fine and flourishing; And the Climate is pleasant and Calculated to produce all sorts of Valuable Articles—Grain, Tobacco, Indigo, Cotton, and all the finest kinds of fruit and Especially Vines &c.&c.&c. and is well watered. When De Soto passed through it there was no part of Florida near so popular—It was Covered with Cities & Villages, but subsequent Indian Wars & the Small Pox has left not a Village Standing in it but a few of the Osarks or Akansas near the mouth of the Arkinsaw.

There were no French Grants in that Country I believe (?) [torn] but that of Mr. Law which was afterwards Surrendered to the India Company and seems to have been long since relinquished for I do not find that any of the old large Grants made by the French during the Misisipi Bubble has been Claimed, since western Lousiana, was Ceded to Spain in 1763—but there is some small Spanish Grants on the lower part of the Arkinsaw and one pretty large one to old Mr. Winters which Extends to White River—as I am informed—but the finest part of the Country is above all these—In 1787 I might have [torn] one hundred mile square on the west bank of the Misisipi on [torn] own terms and was much pressed to accept of such a grant [torn] Spanish Ambassador; which would have included all or most of that fine part of the Country; but

I would not hold such a Grant under a Dispot—There are numerous Salt Lakes a long the Arkinsaw, by which means I have no doubt but I could raise as fine fish and oysters there as the world affords—but this Experiment has never yet been tried at any of the Salines in our western Country tho there is no doubt with me of its Success when properly managed not only Salt-water fish & oysters but Lobster, Crabs and Clams, &c.&c. may be raised there without much Expense—

I feel no Axiety to Enrich myself but it would give me pleasure to do something for our young rising flock.

Thomas Rodney

N. B. I have always been remarkable Lucky in drawing prizes in Lotteries. I therefore wish you to procure me three Tickets in Washington Monument Lottery with my name on them and advise me of their numbers—and I will send you a draft on the bank at Philad[a] next Month or in Jan[y]. for $30—In doing this I shall Contribute to raising a Memorial in honor of the old General and stand a chance of acquiring ten, twenty, thirty or fifty thousand Dollars to myself.

T. R.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

M. T. Town of Washington Nov[r]. 14[th] 1810

My dear Son

I wrote my last mail, but since that, to wit on Saturday last, Col. Tilton arrived in good health & Spirits. He resides at my House, and is to move the Records and Papers &c of his office up to my House to-day. They would have been here by this time, but a light rain prevented in Deed he would have moved them before but the old Register T. H. W. (The now Collector of the Port of Orleans) was here in town very sick—by Col. Tilton I received Letters from several of my grand children which I shall answer—The Collector of Orleans has been here since August last, three or four

weeks ago he accidentally fell out of a Gallery about ten feet high and fell on his head, which laid him up three or four days, after which he got better, and Intending to be at Orleans by the 20th of last month he went over the River to arrange his business at his Plantation before he went away; on his Return here he was Seized with a violent Fever, which opperated Violently on his head; and no doubt proceeded from the Injury Sustained by his fall before mentioned. He still Continues Ill, and there is some doubt of his recovery—If that office should become Vacant no doubt there will be many applicants, but as the Government have had a recent Instance of the bad Effect of appointing random Carracters to such offices, I presume the President will wish to appoint a Person whose Principles, Integrity and faithful honesty, may be depended on—Hitherto I have Objected to living at Orleans, but have now been longer enough in this Country to discover that it is as pleasant, and as healthy, as this part of the Country; and Enjoys many advantages we do not have—I have suffered here for want of fish and oysters which are plenty there; and almost Everything can be had Cheaper there than here, whether coming there oversea or down the River; besides if I was there it would be more Convenient to send such things to my friends in Delaware, than from here—and the only office I would accept there would better Enable me to do this That of Governor, Collector or that of District Judge—Either of which I would accept when Vacant—If the President should see proper to appoint me—but I would not accept of any office there which would oblige me to Execute those abominable Dispotic Laws which are passed by the French in that Territory; Contrary to the Principles of the Governmt. of the United States—Indeed if I was Governor I never would Consent to such, or approve Laws that are Calculated only to make it a French Province again—And in my opinion the U.

S. had better transfer it to France at once than to make it a State Untill the American Settlers become more numerous than the French—This Information and that respect^{s}. offices is for yourself only; and only to be acted on when any occasion happens to give the opertunity—therefore you will bare it in mind Dear Cæsars Cloaths are packed up in his trunk, and ready to go round but I think it best to detain them untill the Spring when there will be less risk by sea—and as they are mostly summer cloaths, they will be useless till then—I continue to mend slowly, but think I have gained faster since I had my old friend and Companion Col. Tilton with me—yet I remain so week that I can Exercise but Little—I have learned an Indian Remedy for the Gravel, which is Equal if not Superior, as a Dissolvent and Diuritic to the Lorrel hill Vine; and possesses greater animating and Exhilerating qualities—So that if the Doctors had been able to have Expelled dear little Cæsar's fever I had no doubt of my being Competent to have Eradicated his old Complaint in a short time Doct^{r}. Daniel and Doctor Rollins, thought his Complaint the gravel; but Doct^{r}. Cox thought it an Incrustation of the blader; and mentioned that he had seen several Cases of that kind; yet this would have made no difference, as to the Effect of the Remedy I have mentioned—It is a small shrubby plant which does not grow here, but grows abundantly in the southern part of West Florida, toward the seashore. It is pretty much like box and is the remedy used for the Venereal disease by the Indians—They also call it, when made into tea, the Liquor of Valour on account of its animating and Exhilirating Effects—The leaves are first cured in the sun or over some Coals—and then boiling water is poured on them as in making other teas; and it must be taken warm.

Present my love to Susan and the Children, and to Sister Sally if still at your House.—

Thomas Rodney

P. S. Our Territorial Legislature is now Sitting in this town but I believe have not Compleated any business yet—The Governor and all the publick officers who reside here are well—Col. Cushing with five Gunboats, and three Companies of the Second Regiment I believe are on their way to Mobile, but why he has been ordered there I Do not know—That part of West Florida west of Pearl River are said to be quietly Enjoying Independence—Gov^{r}. Folk has sent to Cuba for assistance to subdue them, but we are informed here that those for Independence in Cuba are most numerous and are for following the Example of west Florida—Some disturbance in Cuba is not Improbable as the Marquis of Sumeralis is removed and a New Governor to take his place. I see by the Election of Col. J. Hazlet for Governor that Delaware is looking up once more.

T. R.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

M. T. town of Washington Nov^{r}. 20th 1810

My dear Son

I rested better last night and feel better this morning than I have done since I was taken sick—I Considered the Medicine recommended by you but none of it suited my Constitution or habit—I have used nothing but what this Country itself affords—It abounds in medicinal plants affording medicine for almost every disease this Climate is subject to—pukers, purgatives, sodarifics, and Estringents, I have used only the white oak bark tea to Check and Control my fever for which purpose it is far superior to the Jesuits bark—I have used the sweet gum balsam to Check and Control an ugly Cough and Expectoration which was troublesome—and sometimes the alkaline balsam to regulate the stomach, and the Castor oil dissolved by alkali to regulate the bowels the parrunchrista is native and abundant here and any quantity of that oil might be made here—I found that

the sweet gum bark tea, the parsimon bark tea or the white oak bark tea would check my lax but caused by that means the bile to accumulate or a sour acid, and disorder the stomach, but since the oranges have got ripe and Came up here I have taken to drinking orange beverages sweeted by loaf sugar, plentifully; and this by its Diuretic operation has stoped my lax without injuring my stomach. There is a plant which grows abundantly in west Florida near the sea which I have no doubt is Equal if not superior to the Lorrel hill vine for the gravel—It is a powerfull Dissolvent and Diurretic as well as Sodorific and is equal if not superior to opium in Exhilirating the animal Spirits—I had no doubt had dear Little Cæsar got over his fever but that this plant when got, would soon have Eradicated his gravelly Complaint but it does not grow in our Territory nor are the Doctors here acquainted with it—nor have they any other remedy for the stone or gravel except the slow one of the alkali—tho' I know the nitrous acid would do this when rendered mild and safe to take by other ingredients yet a Vegetable remedy is more safe and more convenient to take. The Indians make use of the plant above mentioned for the cure of the Venerial complaint—Dear Cæsar's Cloaths are packed in his trunk and ready to be sent off, but it being late in the Season I think it Safest to send them Early in the Spring.

Col. Tilton arrived here last week and resides with me and has moved the Land Office to my House—Has got the books & papers arranged and is Doing business. He came in good health and still remains well—The old Register (now Collector of the port of Orleans) has been in this Town since August last when he was about to go to Orleans he was taken very Ill, and still continues so—It is thought that a fall he got about 4 weeks ago has been the cause of his Illness—he attempted to sit on or lean against the rail of a gallery which stood

9 or 10 feet from the ground—It was rotten, gave way and he fell to the Ground head foremost—and since his Illness he has Chiefly Complained of his head and he looks as if the Injury was dangerous. Since I have been sick I have suffered so much for want of fish and Oysters, the only things Could have Eaten That I have Seriously reviewed the Situation and Climate of Orleans where fish and Oysters are always plenty in season—and indeed almost all other articles plentier & Cheaper than here. All the French writers who mention that place say it is Equal in healthyness and pleasantness to the South of France and Even to Mont Pillau (?)—This perhaps may be a little exagerating, yet from all I have heard of it since I have been here, it is at least as healthy as this part of our Territory. It is only fatal to strangers who arrive there at an Improper time or when the Yellow Fever is there; but the old Inhabitants are never sickly and seldom take even the Yellow fever—And it Enjoys so many advantages beyond those this part of the Country affords that my old objections to it have Vanished—So that if any Post I would accept off should become Vacant there and the President should think proper to appoint me, I should now prefer Orleans to this place, altho, from the respect and regard with which the people of this territory have always Expressed and Evidenced toward me I should regret leaving them—but I am advancing in years and need those Comforts which necessary to my health without the mind itself declines, but as yet my mind Retains its Vigor in Remimbering, Compairing and Comprehending Ideas in a much greater Degree than I expect to Enjoy at this time of life—In fact my nervous System seems yet to retain all its usual tone but quickness of bodily motion—Yet I recollect but three Posts at Orleans that I would remove there for, to wit, that Governor that of Collector or that of District Judge, for I would not accept a Territorial Judge-

ship there to Execute the tyrannical Laws made by the French Inhabitants of that Territory Contrary to the principles of the Constitution of the United States—And if that Territory is made a State before the American Inhabitants at least equal the French Congress as well transfer it to France at once.—If I were at Orleans I should be Convenient to send any rarety that this Country affords, or other things to my friends in Delaware—but it is Difficult to do this from here—All articles but a very few that the Land or water affords are Cheaper at Orleans than here—but what I have said on this Subject is at present only for your own information—and only to be used when you see occasion. When any of the offices I have mentioned may happen to become Vacant—Present my love to Susan & the Children, I shall if well, probably write again by next mail—and wrote by the mail before last.

Thomas Rodney

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. December 4th 1810

My dear Son

I wrote to you the mail before last and by the 3d mail before that—We have had the weather cool for two weeks past, accompanied about twice a Week with large White Frosts and between them moderate Showers of Rain so that I have been mending slowly but am still too weak to Exercise much—Hitherto I have thought but Little about public affairs, yet in my last Letter mentioned my willingness to remove to Orleans in Case either of the offices therein mentioned became Vacant and the President should think me fit to fill such an office so as to make the appointment. This Change of Sentiment is out of regard to my own Comfort and Convenience, for I cannot Expect to be more respected and regarded anywhere than I am and have been by the People of this Territory since I first arrived among

them—Indeed they seem so much attached to me that whenever I mention Visiting my Connections & friends in Delaware they always object to it for fear I should be Induced not to return—In truth they universally seem to view me as the Patriarch and Father of the Territory—Hitherto I have been too feeble to attend to Politics—but our Troops here lately being put in motion Indicates that the Government have determined on some degree of Spirited activity—Colonel Cushing two weeks ago with three Companies of the Second Regiment and six Gunboats descended the Misisipi from Natchez—Destined as said for Fort Stodart on the Mobile, and two days ago the remainder of the Second Regiment moved off to Natchez (with the Artilerists of the new raised Troops from the Cantonment near this town) to descend the Misisipi in the Residue of the Gunboats; and the remainder of the New raised Troops only wait for boats to follow—but their Destination is not generally known here Tho every one Conjectures they are Destined to take possession of west Florida, so long neglected to be done by our Government—This measure will receive the Universal approbation of this part of the Union Even if we had not Legal Claims to that Tract of Country it being Essential not only that the back Country should have the free use of the Rivers and outlets to the sea which pass through that District but that we should keep any and every foreign power from having the possession of that country so as to prevent us from the use of those numerous Rivers and outlets which pass through it—Various reports are in Circulation here respecting the Floridas, one is, that Pensacola has been Delivered over to the Brittish, and that the Brittish flag was flying on the fort there—another that the Revolutionary Government of west Florida had sent all the men they could raise against Mobile and Pensacola—That one of the Kempers with three hundred men had gone on by land

to Pensacola and had marched in and taken possession of the town without opposition but that two Brittish Officers came out of the Fort and after Conversing with them Kemper and his men retired 4 miles backward—That Col. Canady a Lawyer of Tombigbee, with the Residue of the new Government forces and some men from Tombigbee and others raised below the line had blockaded Mobile on the land side so as to prevent any supplies going to the Fort by land but young M^{r}. Thomson one of our bar here says he left Pensacola Eight days ago, That there was then a Spanish Garrison there of 150 men—that he called at Mobile, and saw Governor Foulke there with a 150 men to defend that place, and that Foulke told him he Expected 2000 Troops from the Havana, and when they arrived he should march against Batton Rouge &^{c}. that the Revolutionary forces had marched with Intent to take both Mobile & Pensacola—That they took with them 4 pieces of Cannon and two pieces of light-Horse artillery and says nothing further of them—how far these reports may be Credited I know not, but presume they cannot be fully relied on, nor is it material if our Troops have orders to take possession of that Country as there can be no Force there Competent to withstand them. While I was at the Lake three trading Vessels returned there from Pensacola—While there they saw the Spanish Troops reviewed, and said they amounted to only 300 men, Diminutive in stature, none of them Exceeding 5 feet in height and all Washanangoes, and the most ordinary looking troops they had ever seen—I believe they have received no additional troops since—of course even if so disposed they will make but feeble opposition to our army—nor do I suppose that the Revolutionists of Florida will make any resistance to our troops, as the Sentiment when I was at the Lake app^{d}. more in favor of our taking possession of West Florida than in favor of a Revolution at their own risk.

Col. Tilton Continues in great health and is busy every day in his office, as there is hardly a day but more or less of the purchasers of public land are paying money into the hands of the Treasurer or Receiver of the U. S. for land—

Present my love to Susan and the Children. I received the History of Chili by Col. Tilton. The last letter received from you was dated about the time Col. Tilton sailed—have not heard since whether you have moved or not.

Thomas Rodney

*Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.**

Town of Washington M. T. Dec^{r}. 10th 1810.

My dear Son

Two letters will go on to you by the next mail—The first was Intended to go by the last but it was so Wet and Stormy I could not send to the office—The last of our Troops (Except the Sick and Convalescent) left here yesterday. The others went by water but the last detachment having no boats but what were necessary for the baggage & stores, are to march to Fort Adams, by Land, and perhaps further for their Destination being Unknown here remains as yet a secret—Gen^{l}. Hampton has not yet arrived but it is said he is to meet them on the River to Explain their Destination but this being known at head quarters requires nothing said on that head to you. Gov^{r}. Claibourne and Gov^{r}. Homs have both gone below with, or at the same time of the first detachment—and it was rumoured yesterday here that Gov^{r}. Claiborne was to Issue a proclamation which he had left at Natchez to be printed showing the destination of our Troops to take possession of Florida and that he the Gov^{r}. was appointed Generallissimo of the Expedition with power to call out the Militia of both

* His last letter—He died Jan. 2, 1811.

Territories and to govern Florida after taken possession of that no notice was taken of the Revolutionary Government there, but that the Gov^{r}. was only to negociate with the Spanish officers &^{c}.&^{c} all this seems to be a wild kind of random news and seems to amuse the public for the moment but as the first detachment has been gone now a week the Event of their destination must be known here in a few days—I am told today that the Presidents Proclamation (not Governor Claibornes) is published in the Natchez paper of this morning but have not yet seen it—Doct^{r}. McDowel informs me that he met Gov^{r}. Holms on Fryday last, and M^{r}. Freeman (The Surveyor Gen^{l}. of this Territory) near M^{r}. OConners below the line that Gov^{r}. Claiborne had gone down the River from Fort Adams with the Regular Troops; and that Gov^{r}. Holms told him the Doct^{r}. that their Destination was Batton Rouge—The Doct^{r}. says that the Revolutionists have got 150 of our Deserters in the Fort and are well supplied with Cannon Arms & Amunition, and he presumes unless a Compromise takes place our Troops will be resisted by the new Government—He says also that the New Government have sent 500 men against Mobile—that he was at Batton Rouge last week, and they had news that the Floridas and the Havanah were delivered by the Spanish Junta to the Brittish and that there was a Brittish 74 at Pensacola &^{c}.—This however seems to be all random news. I know not what has Induced Gov^{r}. Holms and M^{r}. Freeman to venture unattended below the line —If the New Government there should resist our Troops they may be made Hostages—our first detachment having left Fort Adams on Fryday may have reached Batton Rouge yesterday or Today, so that probably the Orleans Mail, the day after tomorrow, may inform us what they are about—Dec^{r}. 12th—M^{r}. Snodgrass, a reputable man from Green Ville was at my House this morning just after I had read the Presi-

dents Proclamation respecting West Florida—M^r^. Snodgrass says he saw a young man at Green Ville just returned from Batton Rouge who said he was there when M^r^. Osbourne, (a young man who had been sent from here down there by Governor Claibourne with the Presidents Proclamation) arrived there that he was suffered to read the Proclamation and then the Commanding officer ordered him to be Confined in the Calabous—that all the new Government Troops ordered to Mobile were ordered to return to Batton Rouge and that he met 80 of them going there—that there were 200, of our old Deserts in the Fort, and when the Commanding officer ordered M^r^. Osbourn to the Calabous he Pointed to their Independent Colors flying on the flagstaff, and told him it would take a good deal of blood to pull them Down—The young man said further that on his Return he stoped awhile at St. Francis Ville at the mouth of Bayou Sara, where the new Governor Skipwith & Legislature were sitting & that he saw Gov^r^. Claibourne & Gov^r^. Holms there—That several of the Citizens of that town were pleased with the project of the U. S. taking possession of that Country and had taken the Oath of Allegiance to the U. S. but Claiborn in talking on the business with a member of the Legislature, was referred by him to Gov^r^. Skipwith but Claiborn replied he new no such Gov^r^. [torn] upon being informed of this, Skipwith Immediately [torn & covered by the seal] Batton Rouge—Gov^r^. Claiborn left there and went over to Point [covered by seal] Coupe (?) but gov^r^. Holms had set of to go to Batton Rouge tho' [covered by seal] had advised him not to go—and the young man says if he does go there he will be ordered to the Calabous—as they seem determined there to Defend their Independence—This however is all report—nothing official has arrived here yet—the mail probably will bring some thing but too late for

me to notice it. Nevertheless it will go on to Government.

I cannot approve the Idea of annexing that District (if we git possession of it) to the Orleans Territory for it will be including in that Territory all the Rivers, Lakes and outlets to the sea between the Tardala (?) and the Sabine which cannot be a wise Regulation in any point of view—In my opinion it would be far more wise to connect it to the M. Territory, and then Divide the M. T. into two Territories, by a straight North line, as drawn from the sea, to the Tenessee line—then all these Territories would have ample outlets to the sea.

Thomas Rodney

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER OF HON. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, PRESIDENT, TO HON. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, FRANCE, 1781.—[Franklin Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

Philadelphia March 2. 1781

Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of a resolve of Congress of the 27th Ulto, expressing the high Sense that they entertain of the distinguished Bravery & military Conduct of Captain John Paul Jones.

Conformable to the enclosed Resolve, you will please to communicate to his most Christian Majesty, the high Satisfaction Congress have received from the Information of Mr de Sartine, that the Conduct and gallant Behaviour of Captain Jones have merited the Attention of his most Christian Majesty, and that his Majesty's Offer of adorning Captain Jones with the Cross of military Merit is highly acceptable to Congress—

I have the Honor to be with very high Respect & Esteem

Sir

Your most obedient &
most humble Servant
Sam. Huntington President

The Honorable
Benjamin Franklin Esquire

Book Notices.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE. By Frederic Austin Ogg, Ph.D., New York, The Macmillan Co., 1920. 8vo, pp. 775. Revised Edition.

The first edition of this work was published in 1913, since which date the structure, functions and problems of government have undergone important changes in every European state. The volume has accordingly been rewritten throughout. The general plan of the present volume differs from that of the first edition. A number of chapters dealing with the governments of minor states have been omitted. Chapters devoted to Austria-Hungary have likewise been dropped, and no attempt has been made to cover the governments of the several lesser states which have risen from the wreckage of the former Habsburg dominion. On the other hand, the space allotted to Great Britain is almost doubled, that given to France is practically tripled, and a closing chapter undertakes to set forth the salient features of Soviet Government in Russia. Italy continues to be treated somewhat briefly because of the general similarity of the Italian and French political systems. Switzerland is dealt with substantially as before. In the case of Germany the chapters describing the governments and parties, both of the Empire and of Prussia up to 1918, have been retained; but two chapters added outline German political development during the Great War, and describe the republican institutions set up in 1918.

APR 3 1922

Vol. XLV JULY, 1921 No. 179

GENERAL LIBRARY
APR 3 1922
UNIV. OF MICH.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVAN A
FOR SUBSCRIBERS

PHILADELPHIA

1921

For Sale at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. Price 75 cents per Number, or $3.00 per year

Entered at the Post-Office at Philadelphia as Second-class matter.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

"A Whitemarsh Orderly Book," 1777—*Found in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* 205

Letters from the Massachusetts Archives. By *George A. Taylor* .. 220

Extracts from a Common-Place Book. By *Henry D. Gilpin* 224

An Early Description of Pennsylvania. Contributed by *Professor R. W. Kelsey* 243

Robert Street, Artist. By *Mantle Fielding* 225

The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry. *(Illustrated.)* By *Major W. A. Newman Dorland, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S.* 257

America's First Bathtub. By *George A. Reid* 292

Notes and Queries 294

Book Notices 298

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MAGAZINE.

Copies of all the volumes of this MAGAZINE can be obtained at the Hall of The Historical Society, bound by Hyman Zucker, in the very best manner, in the style known as Roxburgh, half cloth, uncut edges, gilt top, for $4.25 each and the postage. They will be furnished to subscribers in exchange for unbound numbers, in good condition, on the receipt of $1.25 per volume and the postage.

PRINTED BY PATTERSON & WHITE CO.

THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XLV. 1921. No. 3.

"A WHITEMARSH ORDERLY BOOK," 1777.

HEAD QUARTERS AT WHITEMARSH, Nov. 18th. 1777.

Paroll, Westminster; Countersigns: Winchester, Woodbridge;

Major Genl for tomorrow.....Green,
Brigadier .....Irvine,
Field officers: Lieut Coll. Patton, Major Vaughen;
Brigade Major .....Stoddard.

Detail is same as yesterday.

The Goverment of the State of Pennsylvania Having appointed Comisioners in Each County thereof, to Collect Blankets and Cloathing for the army: all officers Sent Round in the State for that Purpose are by their Comanding officers to be Call,d in as Soon as Possible with what cloaths they have. A Detachment Equal to the Daily Guard is to parade tomorrow morning at half after three o'Clock Precisely on the Grand Parade with one Days Provision Cook'd—the Brigade Majors will have their men Drawn out at Retreat Beating and See that they are Properly fix'd for the Duty. Coll J. C. Hall will Comand the Detachment and under him Liut, Coll Burr and Major Addams

Detail as follows &c. &c.

the Remains of the Late Capt Foster of the 15th Virginia Regt. will be Inter,d this afternoon at four a

Clock with the Honours of Warr. Richard Claiborne Esqr is appointed Brigade Major to Gen[l] Wedens Brigade, and is to be obeyd as Such—

HEAD QUARTERS—Novemb 19[th]., 1777

Parol—Holland—Countersign—Hanover, Hamburg.
Major Gen[l]. for tomorrow.....Sullivin
Brigadier .....Woodford
F. officers .....Liu[t] Coll. Wolford
Brigade Major .....Major West Williams

The Pennsylvania Field officers are desired to Bring in their old Commissions and receive new ones ——
All the Gen[l]. officers are desired to assemble tomorrow at 10 O'Clock in the forenoon at Gen[l]. Huntington's Quar[s]. in order to settle the Rank of the Field officers of Horse who are to attend This Board of Gen[l]. officers and exhibit their respective Claims ——.
All arms unfit for service which are Deposited in the Several regiments and Corps are to be Sent Immediately to the Commissary of Military Stores who will send them to be repaired.

HEAD QUARTERS WHITEMARSH Novemb[r]. 20[th]., 1777.

Parol ..... C sign .....
Major Gen[l] for tomorrow .....Ld Sterling
Brigadier .....Maxwell
F. Officers..L. Col. Richardson, of 5 North Carrolina.
Brigade Major .....Major Magowen.

Liu[t] John Mercer is by the Judge Advocate Gen[l]. appoint Judg Advicate Gen. and is to be Respected as such.

James Munroe Esqr. formely appointed Aid d. Camp to Major Gen. Lord Stirlling is now reappoint[d]. a.d. camp to his L'ship and is to be Respected as such.

M^r^. W^m^. Montroy is appoint Paymaster to the 3^d^. Virginia Regi^mt^ and is to be Respected as Such. The Colther as Receiv^d^. about 400 more Blankets The Several brigades are to Send for their quota of them.

The Sick are to be sent to hospitals but before they are removed applycation is to be made to D^r^. Cochran or other Director of the Hospitals for Directions, unless the Place to which they are to be Sent has been Priorly Pointed out in Gen^l^. orders—No more Sick men are to be sent to Buckingham meeting house ——

A Sergant and 12 orderly men are to be sent to Buckingham, in order to Take Care of the Sick—

A gen^l^. Court martial where Gen^l^. Sullivan was President was held on the 3^d^. Instant and on Divers othe days to the 17^th^. Inclusivly For the Trial of Major Gen^l^. Stephens Charged with 1^st^ unofficer like behavour on the march From the Clove; 2^d^ unofficer like manner in the action of Brandywine and Germantown; 3^d^ drunkenness—

The Court Declare their Oppinion and Sentence as follows, Viz:

The Court having Consider^d^. the Charges against Major Gen^l^. Stephens is of oppinion that he is guilty of an unofficer Like Behavour in the retreat from Germantown owing to Inatention or want of Judgment, and that he has Been Frequently Intoxicated since in the service to the prejudice of good order and Millitary dicipline Contrary to the 5^th^. Artic^l^. of the 18 section of the Artic^ls^ of war— Therefore Sentence him to be dismis^d^. the service. The Court find him not guilty of any other Crimes he was charg^d^. with and therefore acquite him as to all others Except the Two Before mentioned—

The Commander in Chief approves the Sentence.

On Tuesday Evening a Black gelding with a Saddle and Bridle the property Major Gen^l^. Armstrong were

Taken from Head Quarters. The horse is 4 years old about 14 hands high Switch Tail without any white Natural marks Shod alround, fore shoes new, who ever will deliver him to the oner or to Coll. Biddle shall be reasonably rewarded for his Pains.

HEAD QUARTERS WHITEMARSH Novemb^{r}. 21st. 1777

Parole .....Count^{r}sign .....
Major Gen^{l} for tomorrow .....Sulivine
Brigadier .....Wayne
F. Officers .....Lt Coll. Burr, Major Adams
Brigad Major .....Hitchcock
Detale the same as yesterday.

Those Paymasters of regiments who have drawn any pay for officers or men in Coll Morgan's rifile Corps are Immidiately to Pay the Same over to the Paymaster of that Corps.

A Datachment of 80 men with proper officers are to parade this day at 3 o'Clock in the afternoon on the Grand Parade—

Detail &c. &c.

Complaint is made that by the Carelessness of the Butchers the hides are greatly damaged in Taking them off; the Issuing Commis^{rs} are Injoyned to Inspect the Butchers thay Employ and see that thay take off the hides with Proper Care No women coming out of Philad^{a}. are to be permitted to pass the first guards without being told they cannot return again. if upon being inform^{d}. of this, they Chuse to Come out they are to be allowed to pass the guards into the Countrie. The Gen^{l}. of Horse will give this in charge to all the parties of Horse.

The officer of the day report that sentries from the Picquats Keep fires by them; this dangerous Practice is absolutely forbiden and officers of guards are without faile to Visit all their Sentries Between every

relief to see that they are alert and keep no fires, and in Bad and Cold weather they are to releave the Sentries every hour. They are also to see that the Sentries are well-informed of their duty and Instruct such as are Deficient.

on the Right	C	V	V	C	D	F.	Men
Barrenhill Church,	1	—	2	—	3	—	3	—	2	— 70
Piquet guards.										

D. O. Camp at Whitemarsh 21st Novr. 1777.

Col Eyres or the officer commanding the artillery of the State of Pennsylvania will immediately send to Allen Town at least two of the Ammunition waggons & one bridge cart, all the ammunition belonging to the two Iron pieces and as much of that fitted for the brass six pounder, as the commanding officer shall think may be spared at present—a conductor is to be sent for the careful delivery, and storage of the ammunition, who will return on the delivery of these stores to Lieut Col. Heigher or such other person as may have the care of the state stores, at that place. General Irwin will furnish a Sergeant guard. The Horses and wagons are immediately to return— Coll Bull will point out some proper place ten or fifteen miles up the country to which the two iron pieces are forthwith to be sent— The Conductor will apply to Coll. William Henry if at Allentown, or to the State Armorie there and by the return waggons bring to camp such repaired arms and accoutrements as are ready.

(Signed) John Armstrong
Major General.

Hd. qr. Whitemarsh Nov. 22, 1777

Major Genl. Ld. Sterling Brigr. Genl. Smallwood Lt. Col. Ford—Major Lockhart Brigade Major, Barber.	Officers of the day for tomorrow

The gen^{l}. court-martial of the line of w^{h}. Col. Grayson is pres^{t}. is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the house where Gen^{l}. Huntingdon's quarter'd for the trial of all prisoners w^{h}. shall be brought before them: an Orderly Serg^{t}. f^{m}. each brigade to attend the court— L^{t}. Col. Heth, Lieut. Col. Becker, and Major Taylor & a Cap^{t}. f^{rm}. each Continental brigade present are to compose the members of the court— All the gen^{l}. officers present in camp are desired to meet at Lord Sterling's quarters tomorrow at 10 o'clock in the forenoon to settle the ranks of the field officers of horse, who are to attend the board, and exhibit their respective claims.

The brigade commanded by Gen^{l}. Patterson and Learned are to form one division under the com^{d}. of Major Gen^{l}. the Baron de Kalb.

The horses taken yesterday by the scouting party commanded by Col. Bobst assisted by a party of our light horse, are all to be brought to the Q^{r}. Gen^{l}. quarters tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock and sold at public vendue; the produce of the sale is immediately to be divided by the D. Q^{r}. M. Gen^{l}. between the captors.

After Orders:

Lt. Col. Smith will detach from the troops under his com^{d}. $\overset{c}{1}$. $\overset{s}{2}$ - $\overset{P}{50}$ - to be ready to march this afternoon precisely at 4 o'clock with one days provisions cooked. Capt. Jarvis will com^{d}. the detachm^{t}. & apply immediately to Col. Biddle F. M. Gen^{l}. for a guide & further directions.— A sub^{n}. of horse with 12 l^{t}. dragoons will parade at Col. Biddle's q^{rs}. precisely at 4 o'clock tomorrow morning when orders will be ready for the sub^{n}.

Head Quarters Whitemarsh Novemb 23^{d}. 1777

Parol.....C sign .....

Major Gen^{l}. for tomorrow .....Sullivan

Brigadier .....Scott

F. officers .....Lt. Col. Lytle
Brigade Major from Woodford's Brigade, Riddle

The Court of Inquiry held the 18th Instant of which Coll. —— was President, to Enquire into the Conduct of Coll. Price of the 2d Maryland Regt. Report as Follows Viz—

The Court after Considering the Evidences that appear'd. are of Opinion that the reports circulating to the Prejudice of Colo Thomas Price are without the Least foundation

A Detachment of 50 men are to parad Percisly at 4 OClock this afternoon on the Grand Parade with one days Provisions.

A subaltern of horse with 12 Sight Dragoons are to Parade at Coll Biddle's Quartr at 4 oClock Tomorrow morning.

The Genl. Court Martial of the line ordered to sit today is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 oClock at Genl. Huntingdon's Quarters.

Head Quarters Whitemarsh November 24th. 1777.

Parol .....Countersign .....
Major Genl. for tomorow .....Lord Stirling
Brigadier .....Irvine
F. officers .....Coll. Price, Major Polk
Brigade Major .....Parker

Information Having been given that Divers of the Late Sutlers and some of the Inhabitants have opened Tiplinghouses within and adjacent to the Encampment of the army, by which the Design of Banishing the Sutlers from the army is in a Great Measure frustrated the Deputy Quartermaster Genl. is Required forthwith to make Diligent Enquiry and Examination for Discovering such Houses and supressing them and to assure all who are Driving this Pernissous trade that if Continued any Longer their Liquors Shall be siezd. and

they expelld from the Neighbourhood of the Army on Pain of the Severest Punishment if they Return—

The Legislature of the State of New Jersey having made provision for Suplying their Troops with Cloths and Blankets all officers Sent thither for the purpose of Colecting those Articles are by their Comanding officers to be Immediately Recalld.

Head Quarters Whitemarsh Novemb^{r}. 25th. 1777.

Parole, Rutland; Countersign; Stafford, Troy
Major Gen^{l}. tomorrow .....DeKalb
Brigadier .....Woodford
F. Officers .....Coll Thomson, Lieut. C. Smith
Brigade Major .....Stoddard

For the Information of the Troops lately arrived. The Gen^{ls}. order issued some time since is repeated That Tattoo is not to Be beaten in Camp. —

Advertisement

Taken from two privates a Pair of Brass mounted Pistols Supposed to be Stolen. The owners may have them by applying to Capt. Cristy of the 3^{d}. Pennsylvania Regiment.

Head Quarters Wh^{t}. marsh Novm^{b}. 26th 1777

Parole .....C. Sign .....
Major Gen^{l}. .....Sullivan
Brigadier .....Maxwell
F. Officers .....
Brigade Major .....

If any gentleman of the army can give Information to the Gen^{l}. of Shoes, Stockings, or Leather Briches in quantities he will be Exceedingly obliged to them; he will likewise be obliged to any of the Gentlemen officers for recommending Proper Persons to Collect Those articles.

Gen^{l}. Smallwood and the Colls. of the Maryland regiments are to meet tomorrow morning at 9 O Clock,

at Gen^{l}. Smallwoods Qrts. to State as far as they Can the rank of all the other officers in their regiments and the dates of their Commissions aught to bare, where there are Contests for rank amongst the Colls. they are to State their Claims.

The money for the Payment of the army for September is Expected Every Hour.

regimental Paymasters are Immediately to make out their abstracts, for the month of October and deliver them to the Paymaster Gen^{l}. for Examination. As an alteration in the Payment of rations is now under Consideration of Congress it is recomended to the Commanding officers of regiments not to add their ration accounts to their Pay rools until their determination is known, which will be Signify^{d}. in Gen^{l}. orders. The Paymaster Gen^{l}. has Complain^{d}. of the Slovinly carless manner in which some of the Cap^{ts} Make out their Payrolls. The regimental Paymaster is not to receive any but such as are made out fare and agreeable to the Form some time since given out by the Paymaster Gen^{l}. when the Regimental Paymaster is to furnish such Cap^{ts}. with who have not yet received the same.

No regimental Paymaster is to leave the Service without first applying to the Commander in Chief Nor any new Paymaster appointed without obtaining his approbation.

A Cap^{t}. Sub^{l}. and 50 men of L^{d}. Stirling Div^{n}. are to Parade at the Commissarys Gen^{l}. Qu^{ts}. at the 2^{d} House over the Bridge on the Skipack road at 3 oClock this afternoon with one day Provisions to ascort some Baggag^{e}. waggons—

H^{d}. Q^{r}. November 27th. 1777.

Parole C. Sign

Major gen^{l}. tomorrow..Lord Stirling—

Brig^{r}. Patterson.

Field officers..Col Beaty L^{t}. Col. Cobb—

B. M. Williams.

A detachm^{t}. of 300 men are to parade tomorrow morning on the grand parade precisely at half after three o'clock in the morning. Col. Dav^{d}. Hall, L^{t}. Col. Craig and Major Tyler, are appointed field officers for the detachm^{t}.

This detachm^{t}. is to take one days provisions cooked. Twelve light dragoons are to go on the same command and to repair this evening to Col. Biddles quarters.

After orders.

A detachm^{t}. of 100 men to be under command of Cap^{t}. Craig are to parade tomorrow morning at sunrise on the grand parade with one or two days provision and boxes full of ammunition; they will be absent from camp one week near the enemy's lines, and are to go prepared accordingly.

H^{d}. Q^{rs}. Whitemarsh November 28th. 1777.

Parole C. Sign.
Major Gen^{l}. for tomorrow..DeKalb
Brig^{r}...Poor
Field officers Col. Gunby, Major Hogg—
B. M. McClure

At a gen^{l}. court martial held the 24th inst of wh. Col. Grayson was pres^{t}. Major Ross charged with "leaving his arms in the field in the action of the 4th of Oct^{r}. near Germantown" was tried and acquitted with the highest honor. The Com.-in-chief approves the court's judgment. Major Ross is released from his arrest.

Detail for guard the same as yesterday.

The gen^{l}. court martial of w^{h}. Col Grayson is pres^{t}. is to sit tomorrow morning at the tavern next to Col Biddle's quarters.

Head Quarters Novemb^{r}. 29th. 1777.

Parol C. Sign.
Major Gen^{l}. for tomorrow .....Sullivan
Brigadier .....Wayne

F. officers .....Coll Marshall
L^{t}. Coll Campbell.
Brigad Major .....McClintock

The officers Commanding regiments are to see that their mens arms are put in the best order Possible and of the loaded ones such as can be drawn are to be drawn and the others discharg^{d}. the first fare day at eleven oClock in the forenoon but to prevent the wast of Lead the arms of Each regi^{t}. or Brigad are to Discharge their pieces into a Bank of Earth from which the Lead Can be Taken.

A Court of Inquiry is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 oclock at Gen^{l}. Gist Quar^{t}. to Inquire into the Conduct of Cap^{t} Andrew Slhull of the 4th Penns^{l}. regim in ordering the Paymaster of that regiment to pay Cap^{t}. Wuits a sum of money, for a purpose suppose^{d}. to be unwarrentable. Coll Gist appointed President of this Court L^{t}. Coll Barber and Major Ross are to be members Coll. Spencer is appointed President & Major Boyd and Cap^{t}. of Coll Lees regiment members of a Court Inquiry to sit tomorrow morning at 10 O Clock at Presidents Quar^{ts}. to Inquire into the Conduct of Lieut. Rannald of Coll. Malcoms regiment for abusing Dan^{l}. Masserly, Esq^{r}. and other persons in the 2^{d} of Last August as is Exhibited in their Deppositions

Advertst

Two bay stray Horses are at Abraham Charlworths about two miles in the rear of the Camp

Head Quarters Novemb^{r}. 30th. 1777.

Major Gen^{l}. .....Green
Brigadier .....Smallwood
F. officers .....Coll Cortland
Major Smith

Brigade Major of Learneds Brigade on the 25th of Novemb^{r}. Instant the Honourable Continental Congress pass^{d}. the following resolve viz

Resolved that Gen[l]. Washington be Directed to Publish in Gen[l]. orders that Congress will spedily take into consideration the merrits of Such officers as have distinguished themselves by their intripidity and their attention to the health and Dicipline of there men and adopt such regulations as shall tend to Entroduce order and good Dicipline in the army and render the Situation of the officers and Soldier with respect to the Clothing and other Necessarys more Elegable than it has Hitherto been.

For as much as it is the indisspensable duty of all men to adore the superintending Providence of Almighty God to acknowledge with gratitude there obligations to him for Benefits Recei'd and to Implore such further Blessings as they Stand in need of and it having pleased him in his abundant mercy not only to continue to us the innumerable bounties of his Commin Providence but also to smile on us in the Prosacution of a Just and Nessary war for the defence of our unalainable rights and libertys—it is therefore recomended by Congress that Thursday the 18th day of Decemb. Next be Set appart for Solemn Thanksgiving and Praise, that at one time and with one Voice the good People may Express the gratfull Feeling of their Hearts, Consecrate them Selves to the Sirvice of their divine Benefactor and that together with their Sincear acknowledgments and offerings they may join the panetant Confession of their Sins, supplications for such further Blessings as they may stand in need of—

The Chaplains will Properly Notice this recommendation that the day of Thanksgiving may be duly observed in the army agreeable to the Intention of Congress.

The regimental Paymasters is to Call on the Paymaster Gen[l]. tomorrow and receive the Pay for the month of Septem[r]. Those who have Deliver[d]. in their

abstracts for October may receive for that month also.—

HEAD QUARTERS WH^{t}.MARSH Decemb^{r}. 1st. 1777.

Parol .....Countersign .....
Major Gen^{l}. .....Stirling
Brigadier .....Irvine
F. Officers .....Coll Wasson
L^{t}. Coll Stoddard
Brigade Major .....Mcgovern

M^{r}. Rob^{t}. Duncon is appointed Paymaster to 4th. North Carolina regiment and is to be respected as such.

A Gen^{l}. Court Martial is to sit tomorrow at 9 O Clock at the Tavern next to Coll Biddle's Q^{r}. For the Triel of all Prisoners which Shall be Brought before them.

Coll Ogdon is appoint President of this Court L^{t}. Coll Simes Major Starret & Major North & a Captain the 1st & 2^{d} Pennsylvania Maxwells, Conways, Woodfords, Scotts, Poors, Pattersons & Leanards Brigades, are to be members of the Court.

The officers are to make out their muster rolls to the first of December, the Term of time for which the men Enter^{d} for is to be Inserted in Every musterroll The Noneffectives are not to be inserted a Second Time. Officers must pay a strict attention to the orders which have been Issued respecting this part of their duty.

HEAD QUARTERS WHITEMARSH Decemb^{r}. 2^{d}. 1777.

Parol..Chatam ....Countersign...Camden, Burk
Major Gen^{l}. for tomorrow.....the Baron DeKalb
Brigadier .....Muhlenburg
F. O.....Coll Bredford and
Major Thomas of Maryland Mi^{a}. B. M. Hitchcock

Returns are to be made Early tomorrow Morning of all officers and Men in the Several Brigades and Corps who have not had the smallpox, Every Coll or

officer Commanding a Regt or Corps is to make an Immediate Return to the Paymaster-gen^{l}. of Every Paymaster who has belonged to or Done Duty as Such in any Regt. or Corps, the Place of their abode and the time when they left the Service—

HEAD QUARTERS WHITEMARSH Decembr 3^{d}. 1777.

Parole .....Countersign .....
Major Gen^{l}. Tomorrow .....Sullivan
Brigadier .....Weeden
F. Officers .....Coll. Livingston, Major Wells.
Brigade Major .....Minnes

At a gen^{l}. Court Martial of which Coll. Grayson was President Held the 26, 27, 28 and 29 of Novembr last Major Howard appeared before the Court Charg^{d}. with 1st. Wounding Cap^{t}. L^{t}. Duffy with his Sword, abetting a riot in Camp & 3^{d} in the front of the men at his request assembl^{d}., attemping the Life of Cap Duffy with a loaded firelock and fixed Bayonet being utterly Subversive of good order and Millitary Disipline.— The Court having Considered the Charge and the Evidence are of oppinion that Major Howard did not Intentionaly wound Cap^{t}. Duffy, and therefore acquit him of the first Charge, upon the 2^{d}. Charge they are of oppinion that however Justifiable the motives were by which Major Howard was at first actuated—his Conduct is, and the end was Such as Tended rather To Promote than suppress a riot—they therefore Sentence him to be repromanded in Gen^{l}. orders— With respect to the 3^{d}. Charg—the Court are of oppinion that it is not supported by Evidence & therefore acquit him of S^{d}. Charg

Cap^{t}. Duffy appeared before the Court Charged with —1st aiding & abbetting a riot 2^{d} Assembling and abusing Major Howard in the Execution of his office—

The Court haveing Considered the 1st. Charg and the

Evidence, are of oppinion that Cap^{t}. Duffy behaved with a warmth which tended to Produce a riot—and do Sentence him to be reprimanded in Gen^{l}. orders—upon the 2^{d} Charge they are of oppinion that Major Howard when Cap^{t}. Duffy struck him had diveated from the Line of his duty and Consequently was not in the Execution of his office they do therefore acquit Cap^{t} Duffy of the 2^{d} Charg

The foregoing Oppinions are approve^{d}. by the Commander in Chief and the Sentences of reprimand appear to be pronounced with great Justness on an Impropriaty of Conduct unbecoming the Charrectors of officers whos duty it is to Suppress all riots and Tumult & Set Examples of moderation decency and order—

The officers and men of the Company raised by the late Cap^{t}. Calderwood are to be Anexed to Cap^{t}. Nevies Company in Coll. Malcoms regiment—

HEAD QUARTERS WHITEMARSH Decemb^{r}. 4th. 1777

Parol .....Countersign .....
Major gen^{l}. Tomorrow .....Greene
Brigadier .....Woodford
F. Officers .....Coll Tupper, Major Reid.
Brigade Major .....Claiborne
Detale the same as yesterday

HEAD QUARTERS WHITEMARSH December 4th. 1777

Parol .....Countersign .....
Brigadier .....Woodford
Field officers .....Colonel Tupper
Brigade Major .....Clasbourn
the Details the same as Yesterday

LETTERS FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES.

By GEORGE A. TAYLOR

[*Authority—Mass. Archives.*]

"Philadelphia 18 July 1755
Five oclock P. M

"Sir

We have in the absence of Governor Morris who is over Sasquehanna received the melancholly news of the Defeat of General Braddock it is contained in a small bit of Paper dispatch'd by Coll. Innes from Fort Cumberland at Wills Creek & was forwarded by Governor Sharpe It speaks for itself & needs no comment & you will no doubt communicate it to the Generals & Admirals & governors in the Continent with all possible Expedition.

Your honours—
most obedient
Humble Servant
Richard Peters,
Clk. of the Council

It is not an hour since the News arrivd & no other particulars are come to the knowledge of the Council Governor De Lancey"

[endorsed] "Rich^{d}. Peters Clerk of the Councils' Lett^{r}.

To
Governor Delancy
Dated 18 July 1755"

[*To the Inhabitants & Planters of Pensilvania in America—*]

"Charles R.

Whereas his Ma^{tie} In consideracion of the Greate Merritt & faithfull Service of S^{r}. William Penn de-

ceast & for Divers other good causes him hereunto moveing hath been Gratiously Pleased by Letters Pattents beareing Date the 4th Day of March last to give & grant unto Wm. Penn Esqr. sonn & heire of the sd. Sr. Wm. Penn all that Tract of Land in America called by the name of Pensilvania as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware River from twelve miles Distante Northwards of New Castle Towne unto the three & fortieth Degree of Northerne Latitude if the sd. River Doth Extend Soe ffarr Northwards and if the Sd. River shall not Extend so ffarr Northward then by the Sd River Soe ffarr as it doth Extend. And from ye head of the Sd River the Easterne bounds to be Determined by a Meridian line to be Drawne from the head of the Sd River unto the Sd three & fortieth Degree. (the Sd Province to Extend Westward five Degrees in Longitude to be Computed from the Sd Easterne bounds. And to be bounded on the North by the begining of the three & fortieth Degree of Northerne Latitude: And on the South by a Circle Drawne att twelve miles Distance from New Castle, Northwards & Westwards unto the begining of the fortyeth Degree of Northerne Latitude. And then by a Streight line Westwards to ye. Limit of Longitude above menconed Together with all Powers Pr heminencyes [pre-eminencies] & Jurisdicons Necessary for the Goverm^{t}. of the Sd Province As by the Sd. Letters Pattents. Refference being thereunto had, doth none att Large appeare.

His Ma^{tie} Doth therefore hereby Publish & Declare his Roy^{ll}. Will & Pleasure. That All persons Settleing or Inhabiteing within the Lymitts of the Sd. Province Doe Yeeld all due Obedience to the Sd Wm. Penn his heires & Assignes as absolute Proprietaries & Governo^{rs} thereof as alsoe to the Deputy or Deputys, Agents or Leiutenn^{ts}. Lawfully Commissionated by him or them according to the Powers & Authorityes granted

by the Sd Letters Pattents, Wherewith his Ma^tie^ Expects & requires a Ready Complyance from all persons whom it may Concerne as they tender his Ma^ties^ Displeasure.

Given att the Court att Whitehall the 2^d^ Day of Aprill in the three & thirtyeth yeare of is Ma^ties^ Reigne

By his Ma^ties^ Commande
Conway

To the Inhabitants &
Planters of Pensilvania
in America"

Suffolk Co. Court Files (Mass) [*Tabitha Lake's (later Tabitha Thomas) Letter*]

"London August 26" [1689]

"Dear Brother

I received your letter dated from panselvanea and am sory to hear of your troubles and according to your order I have sent you in the Spring several goods by Cpt. Losson of one and Mr Suttliffe [?] of which I hope you will take care to make returns of for that sort of furs would now be a good commodity in England I hope you will do what you can for to make returne for I have sent most of what I have in you hand: I hope you will consider it Brother accordingly I went to my sister Lake and told her what you rit to me and I gave her all the good words I could and she said that she had no letter from you in a year and she said that she did not order you to be arested and her brother was not at home but she would speake with him and returne me her answer which he did in to [2] days after and then she told me she was satisfied that he was a very rich sufficient man and she desired no better then in his hands, so when I see I could not prevent I did tel her that you would give up what you had in your hands to the creditours and she said you might if you could I did not tel her that you were gon

from nue England I did not thinke it convenient for she did thinke that he whome she had intrusted to be the Governer and they were sure he wase not in prison for any Debt but upon the account of [torn] lure of England— I desire you to secure yourself for they will do you all the myschef they can pray be well advised in what you do I would not have you take so much care fore the children since she will not have it so but for your self so expecting to have returnes from you I rite to you at large by Cap. Losson so with mine and my sisters Love to you I am your Loving sister

Tabitha Lake."

[endorsed] "To Mr Lancelott Lake
Merchant
Att Boston In
p Capt Bant New England
Q. D. C.

[also] "Tabitha Lake to
Lancelot Lake p
Gilbart Bantt 24-9
1689"

[also] "Lake vers Somers
Janry. 1691
Appeale"

EXTRACTS FROM A COMMON-PLACE BOOK.*

BY HENRY D. GILPIN

Mr. Gilpin, a son of Joshua and grandson of Thomas Gilpin of Philadelphia, was born in 1801 and took his degree in arts at the University of Pennsylvania in 1819. In 1832 he was appointed Attorney of the United States for Pennsylvania, in 1837 Solicitor of the Treasury of the United States and in 1840 Attorney General under Van Buren. He was President of The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and Vice President of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He was a contributor to the Atlantic Souvenir, American Quarterly and the Democratic and North American Reviews. His library was one of the largest and best selected private libraries of the country. He was one of the leading benefactors of the Historical Society.

The Editor has thought it well to print the following excerpts from his Common-place Book as showing his diligence in the pursuit of knowledge and the orderliness with which he arranged his studies, even in the beginning of his career.

A Common-Place Book in which I intend to note down my readings and my observations thereon.

Philadelphia, June 25, 1819.

I have this day finished my examination for a Bachelor's degree which I have been fortunate enough to obtain as well as one of the three collegiate honors. As henceforth the line of my studies will be altered, and my plan of reading entirely different I have determined to keep a faithful & accurate account of the

* In the possession of Thomas Lynch Montgomery.

works which I peruse and to make remarks thereon more or less freely according to the nature of the work. And notwithstanding the opinion of Dr. Johnson I cannot but think it an excellent method to promote at once industry and knowledge.

It is just two years and a half since I entered College—during that time I have read many books and studied many subjects tho I cannot but think I could have done more and that more effectually had I studied privately; however I do not regret the time that I have spent there since it was the only way for me to obtain a degree which the world at least considers as important for a professional man.

I have read either at school or college most of the ancient Classics particularly the Latin; some I have studied with attention others have been passed over in the superficial manner which they too generally are— As however it is proper that I should have a perfect knowledge of them I shall commence a general review 1. of the Greek and 2. of the Latin— I shall begin with the Greek historians—then proceed to the Poets, Orators & Philosophers—and afterwards follow the same plan with the Latin.

July 5. Brandywine. The last week has been employed in removing from the city &ca. so that I have been very idle and indeed this is the first day I have done any thing seriously—I find that I have not brought Herodotus down with me so that I cannot yet commence my historical plan—I have determined however for the present to employ myself in studying Greek & Latin—by, first translating them into English and then turning them back into the original—an excellent way to obtain a good knowledge of a language— This morning I translated the two first pages of the 1st. Philip. of Demosthenes; and the 1st Chap. of Cicero de Senectute I also read the Articles Demosthenes & Cicero in Brewster—I cannot think that

Demosthenes accepted the cup from Harpalus—I must investigate the subject— Altogether an idle day—

July 6. Commenced Italian and was employed at it until 10 o'clock—translated a page & a half of Demost. & a chapter of Cicero— In the afternoon I was idly engaged in reading a little book "Contes de Voltaire." He could write tales in a most engaging manner.

July 7. Re-translated the first page of Demosthenes and the 1st Chapt. of Cicero into Greek & Latin—I find this method more difficult than I expected, but I feel confident that there cannot be any way better adapted to give us a knowledge of a language, than to make, in this manner, its best writers, our instructors.

July 8. Engaged with Italian & French till 11 o'clock —translated two pages of Demosthenes—in afternoon I wandered into the woods & having a Virgil in my pocket read his Life and the three first eclogues—it seems strange that he should have been so anxious that the Eneid should be burnt—especially as he had thought it long before worthy of being read before Augustus & Octavia.

July 13. For the last three or four days I have been engaged—so that I could not find time for Demosthenes or Cicero—I have however written the greatest part of my oration for the commencement, done something at French and Italian & finished Virgil's Bucolics p— 17 to 63. How very difficult a species of poetry must the Pastoral Poetry be—I do not remember a single modern Pastoral Poet, except perhaps Gesner, who is good for any thing. But in Virgil, every thing is simple and beautiful, & natural, while we have no rude or rustic expressions

July 16. I at last have got back to Demosthenes & this morning translated a page and a half—read also the first Georgic 1.1 to 100 How curious to a modern must his compliment to Augustus (1-24-42) appear— to ask a person in an address of 20 lines what part

of the heaven he will choose & what he will preside over.

July 18. Translated a page & a half of Demosthenes into Greek and began to read over Valpy's Greek Grammar with notes attentively read preface &c. & page 1-17.

July 20. Translated a chapt. of Dem. into English & a page of Cicero into Latin read Valpy p. 17-34— to the Verbs—the coincidence between the Greek & Latin nouns is very striking, & clearly proves that the latter are derived from the Greek—I have also continued my French & Italian—the Ital. is much easier than I had expected—tho' I had thought it was much more like the Latin than it is—

August 1. I returned from Philadelphia yesterday after the commencement—I have been so much engaged about it for the last 10 or 12 days that I have had little time to attend to any thing else—as however it is now proper to begin seriously to study I propose as the most effectual way so to do to make a regular division of my time—Law being the chief object of my studies I consider that as the *principal* object—Latin & Greek, Italian & French are scarcely less important however— Let this be the plan—Monday, Wednesday & Friday till 8 o'clock—Greek or Latin—from 8 till 2 (dinner) Blackstone &c.—afternoon reading & society —on the other days—French or Italian instead of Gr. & Lat.—rise at 5. go to bed at 11.—as it is now my intention to begin Herodotus I read, as introductory, to-day his life by Beloe—Tytler's Hist. p. 16-39.

August 2. Read as introductory to Herodotus—Millot Elements of General History p. 1-206— This is not a good elementary book—too little attention is paid to chronology & it is filled with many remarks which are by no means new—he however very properly avoids mixing together sacred & profane History— the Abbé appears to prefer the Spartans to the

Athenians—but how is it possible to prefer the country which "in the period of nearly 1000 years produced no poet, orator, historian, or artist of any kind" to a country which stood unrivaled in every splendid acquirement.—a savage to a civilized people.

August 5. Italian & French lesson— At last got an opportunity, to begin Blackstone—read the 2 first chap. of the Introduction p-1-63— I admire it very much but shall not form an opinion of the work till I have finished it—The Edition is the 4th Oxf. 410.1770.

August 6. Having read such preparatory books as I thought necessary I this morning began Herodotus. The edition I use is that of Gale a learned divine of the 17th Century—fol, Lond. 1679—it does not appear to be a very good one but I must content myself with it—at least for the present—read to day the 12 first chap. of Clio— p 1- 6— Read also Blackst. p- 63-120 which finishes his admirable introduction—I shall defer opening a Common-place book on *Law* until I commence a second reading & shall have acquired a little more knowledge of its general principles—began one however to day on *History*—

August 7. Read the first 6 chap. of the first Book of Blackstone—p. 120-237.

August 8. Did an Italian lesson which should have been done yesterday— As I think it proper to keep up my knowledge of mathematics I have determined to devote a few hours every week or two to them— to day I reviewed part of the Differential Calculus

August 9. Read Blackstone p—237-306.

August 13. Having been in Philadelphia on business since the 10th. I have done nothing in the way of study— I however employed two afternoons at the Library in making a list of the works & authors in the antiquities of Gravius, Gronovius &c which will be very useful to me in reading the ancients—

August 14. Besides my Italian lesson I this day read Blackstone p 300-366.

August 15. I spent two or three hours to-day at the Differential Calculus.

August 16. I this day read the 9 last chapt. of the first Vol. of Blackstone p. 366-486.—also from the 13th to the 25th chapt. of Herodotus p—6-10.

August 17. Italian &c— Read the two first Chapters of the 2. Book of Blackstone p—1-20.

August 18. Read 3 ch. of Blackstone p 20-78—also from the 25th to the 34th. ch. of Herodotus—p 10-14; and I have seldom read an equal portion of history so delightful as the admirable address of Solon to Croesus— The passage in the 32 Ch.—relative to the term of human life is curious & important—and will be the subject of remark in another place—

August 19. Besides my Italian & French, I could only find time to day for 2 ch. of Blackstone p 78-120.

August 20. Read Blackstone—p. 120-179—also 23 chapters of Herodotus p 14-21—where he first begins to treat of the Grecian States

August 21. Read Blackstone—p. 179-200—also did a long Italian & a French lesson

August 23. I did little in the way of study to-day except something at the Differential Calculus.

August 24. As I should wish to finish Blackstone this month I must be more industrious—to-day I read p 200-344—

August 25. Read p. 344-470 of the 2d. Book of Blackstone; the 23d. Ch. finishes the subject of real property, a subject perhaps the most abstruse in legal science and "to reach to the full meaning of which" Sir Edward Coke's advice of a second perusal—nay perhaps of a great many more—must be followed by every student— To-day I also read Herodotus p—21-24

August 26. To-day—F. Corbin being here—could

read nothing but "Mazeppa" a new poem by Lord Byron also the "Sketch-book of Geoffry Crayon"—the 2 first papers of the latter are very good—the 3d middling—the last untrue—it is not the tribe of book-makers who study the old folios in the British Museum —they would be loth to take so much trouble—as to Mazeppa—I cannot but think that the age is fast declining in taste which can admire this & many other effusions of the noble author—

August 27. Read Blackstone p. 470-520 which finishes the 2d. Book—also 6 ch. of Book III. p—1-35—

August 28. Read Blackstone p 85-253 and also my Italian lesson.

August 29. I this day read from the 17th to the 24th Ch. of the 3d B. of Blackstone p—253-386— His observations (Ch. 21, 22) on the common remarks, of the barbarity of law-latin & norman french, the uncertainty & length of law proceedings, the multiplicity of laws &c—are very correct & true—& the chapt. on the trial by jury is admirable.

August 30. Read Blackstone p 386-455 which finishes the 3d Book—also p 1-118 Book IV.—the concluding observations of the first Chap. have been fully proved by the experience of many years & it is to be hoped that the present efforts of parliament will soften the severe punishments of a code "so dreadful that far from diminishing will increase the number of offenders". Also read a few chapters of Herodotus—p 24-26.

August 31. After a hard day's work I finished the Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone—I have seldom read a book more contrary to my expectations, I had heard indeed that he treated the dry subject of the law in a very handsome manner but had no idea that work on so abstruse a subject could be written with a beauty & elegance that might entertain the most superficial reader. Perhaps it would be going

too far to say that its style is the finest in the English language but yet I must confess I know none superior —Altogether it is a work worthy of the subject and if as Montesquieu has foretold that beautiful fabric shall sink beneath the decays of time & the corruption of ages—posterity will here view the best record at once of its simplicity & greatness—and perhaps pronounce it with the author "the best birthright, the noblest inheritance of mankind".

September 7. Took my French & Italian and read Pastoret 158-369. which finishes what I wanted to know of this book— Confucius as a moralist, is far superior to the other two—but how poor all their laws appear when compared with the noble system I have been reading in Blackstone.

September 19. In Philadelphia since the 12th—on the 14th I entered myself a student of law in the office Mr. J. Ingersoll— To-day I was engaged in writing off a copy of my speech to send to England—

September 21. Yesterday and to-day I was finishing my speech and writing letters &c. to England— also did a French & Italian lesson.

September 22. This day I read 38 chapters of Herodotus—p. 74-90 which finishes Clio—I had formed a plan to read the Greek historians regularly thro' but in a month I am obliged to alter it—every page of law shews the absolute necessity of an intimate acquaintance with modern history—I shall therefore turn to that leaving Herodotus to some future day—but shall first make an abstract of Clio and some maps to exemplify it so that when I have leisure I may return to it with advantage—

September 23. I this morning began Sullivan's Lectures on the laws of England—read the Introductory discourse p. I-XLIII by Stuart— It seems strange that Mr. Hume should so frequently & with so little authority attempt to deny so many of the ancient liber-

ties of the commons of England—read also the 6 first lectures p. 1-92— Took my French & Italian lessons—

September 24. Read Sullivan's Lectures p. 92-210—the account of the Feudal System appears a remarkably clear & excellent one so far—made an abstract of Clio—See Common place Book—*History.*

September 25. Read only 5 Lectures this morning p 210-271—took my French & Italian lessons—and made a map of the world as known to Herodotus marking only the places mentioned in Clio

September 26. Made a map of Asia Minor as mentioned in Clio—

September 27. Read Sullivan's Lectures p 271-403—finished my maps in the afternoon.

September 28. Finished Sullivan's Lectures p. 403-538—a book of considerable information—it gives me a much clearer idea of the feudal System than I had before as well as of the rise and causes of many different tenures, fictions of law, &ca.— Began my course of modern history with the 14th. Vol. of the Universal History—it is my intention to take this as my text book, and read Tacitus, Suetonius, Gibbon, &ca—as I go on read to day from p 1-29. Also French & Italian lesson—

September 29. Began Sullivan's Lectures again and read the Introduction & p 1-92—also Universal Hist. p 29-75. This part is taken almost literally from Tacitus—

September 30. Read Sullivan p 92-222 I took my French & Italian lessons— In the afternoon read the Universal History p 75-142. which brings us to the death of Germanicus—the noblest, bravest & best man whom Rome had seen for many years.

October 1. Read Sullivan p 222-362. Also the Univers. Hist. p. 142-210—when the wretch Tiberius retires to Capreae.

October 2. Finished this morning the second read-

ing of Sullivan's lectures p. 362-538. And besides my French & Italian read Univers. Hist. p. 210-238 the execution of Sejanus.

October 3. Read Univers. Hist. p. 238-262. which finishes the reign of Tiberius.

October 4. I this morning examined myself on Sullivan and began again the 2d. Vol. of Blackstone—read p. 1-44. Also read the reign of Caius Caligula in the Univers. Hist. p. 262-325.

October 5. Took my Italian & French lessons, read Bl. p 44-120, and the Univers. Hist. p 325-365—to the death of Claudius

October 6. Read Bl. p. 120-223 and Univers. History p 365-467—to the Death of the tyrant Nero—it is rather curious that Lucan & Persius two of the boldest writers of Rome should appear in so tyrannical an age—and that poets so young should have left us such admirable works—the 2d & 5th. Satires of Persius are amongst the noblest remains of antiquity.

Nov. 2. Arrived at this period when according to Mr. Gibbon the Decline of the Empire began I end the first division of my history & return to consult the original authors of that division and commence with Tacitus—the perusal of whose works I regard with more pleasure than those of any ancient writer.

November 4. Read 4 Bl. p 220-322—took my French and Italian lessons—and began Tacitus—read his life and the first 12 ch. p 1-11.

November 5. Finished the 2d reading of Blackstone p. 322-443—which has increased my admiration of his noble work which can never be read too often—I only wish I had the memory of Adrianus when I read it—read 12 ch. of Tacitus. p. 11-15.

November 6. Busy all this morning at a map of the western lands—wrote to England also took my French & Italian lessons

November 14. All this last week I have been en-

gaged at a map of the western lands except that I have read to the 75 ch. of 2. book of the Annals p. 15-61.

November 15—I this morning began Lord Coke's first Institute the commentary upon Littleton—the 8 vo. ed. in 3 vols with Mr. Hargrave's notes—read to day the various prefaces &ca p I-LVI. & part of the 1st Sect. fol. 1-6 a—I also finished the 2d. book of the Annals & read to c. 8—3. 1.—p 61-68.

November 16. Read Co. Litt. to Sect. 6 & Tac. p 68-77 and took my French & Italian lessons—

November 17—Read Co. Litt—S. 6-18. and Tac. p. 77-85

November 18. Besides my Ital. & French I this morning read Co. Litt—Sec. 18-36. which brings us to the chap. on Dower—as yet I have not come to any thing so dry & disagreeable as I have been led to expect—and indeed I fancy these accusations generally arise from the ignorance or idleness of the Student—it has indeed as yet been quite entertaining—I also finished the 3d. book of the Annals of Tacitus—p 85-92.

November 19. Read Co Litt. Sec. 36-56—which finishes the cap. on Dower some parts of which are not quite so clear as the preceding—

November 20. Took my French & Italian lessons and read Co Litt. to middle of Sect. 58—a very little but as I was engaged with some gentlemen yesterday & to-day I could only read that & Tac. p 92-96

November 21. I made to day an Analysis of Spanish grammar as I wish to learn that language in the course of the winter—I read also a few chapters of Tacitus p. 96-102

November 22—Read Co Litt. S. 58-68—and Tacitus to c. 40— His brevity is astonishing—the observations in c. 32, 33, little more than ½ a page—would employ many pages of the learned philosophers of the present day—

November 23—Read Co Litt S. 68-85. which finishes

the first book— It would not do many landholders & their officers the least harm to read Sir Ed. Coke's advice to them & (which would be more difficult perhaps) to follow it—vid. fol. 59, 61, 62. I also finished the 4th book of the Annals—there is some mistake in my edition I fancy at the end of the 40th. chapt. as the sentence appears very confused—also took my French & Italian lessons—

November 24. I was fully employed till dinner in reading the note of Mr. Hargrave continued by Mr. Butler on the feudal system—& consulting the authorities—I do not see the use of introducing so much about the civil law—the 3d & 6 Sect. are very useful to the Student—read what remains of the 5th Book and to the 11 ch. of 6th of Tacitus—Sejanus has gained but posterity has lost much from the rapacity of time—

November 25. Began the 2d. book of Co Litt. & read from S. 85-96 and Tacitus p 130-138—and my French & Italian.

November 26. Read Co Litt S. 96-107—few better instances of his quaintness can be found than the last passage p. 71a—and finished the 6th book of Tacitus—

December 31. Read Co Litt S. 734 to the end—which finishes Co. Litt. with the year—on looking over the studies of the year, I do not find any reason to reproach myself with idleness tho' I hope next year by adopting a more regular system I shall be able to read more—since leaving college (where I was the first six months of the year)—I have read Sir W Blackstone's Commentaries twice attentively—Sullivan's Lectures also twice—Lord Cokes 1st Institute—All the works of Tacitus & a number of less important works —& since I returned to Philadelphia half the day has generally been employed in writing at the office.

February 1. (1820.) During the last month I have been very idle and gone out a great deal, I have also neglected the languages very much and it is therefore

my intention to turn over a new leaf and be more industrious; as there are exactly 6 languages that I wish to perfect myself in I shall devote an evening to each every week, Monday, English, Tuesday Latin, Wednesday, Greek; Thursday French, Friday Italian, Saturday Spanish.

February 19. Having some writing in the morning I did not think it worth while to begin Bacon as it was Saturday, but perhaps the true reason was that I wished to read Ivanhoe a new novel by the best of novel-writers. Perhaps I spent the day very idly but I am not of the same opinion as many persons that reading a novel occasionally is either a very great waste of time or that it renders the mind unfit for other studies— There is no character I despise more than a novel reader that is one who can pore forever over the trash of a circulating library and enjoy nothing else, and then it is I grant a waste of time and very injurious to the mind. A good novel instructs us more in the manner of the age and country where the scene is laid than any other kind of writing, and we are told by Florian that when he had searched in vain all the other records of Moorish Spain he found in their romances the most useful and important fund of information. But to me I confess the chief inducement to read a novel is the entertainment it affords—the mind sometimes becomes wearied with the sameness or the obscurity of a law treatise—there are times when history itself cannot please—and then it is that the relaxation of poetry or a novel makes us return them with new vigor—Cato and Camden it is said, and surely *they* will not be called weak and indolent, learnt new languages at an advanced period of their lives merely to read the fictitious tales of Greece and Spain.

It is long since I have read a novel and shall not perhaps look at one again for many months; but I am confident that I shall not study "Pleas and Pleading"

with less attention, while I am sure that I have derived a great deal of information as well as pleasure, from reading Ivanhoe.

June 12. Sir John Fortescue was born about the year 1390— We are accustomed to look upon this as a barbarous period—but this work shews the marks of a well cultivated, as well as noble mind, and is admirably calculated to increase our esteem for a system of laws which tho greatly altered in the course of four centuries (perhaps in some cases for the worse) are eminently calculated to promote the freedom and happiness of the subject—he has selected with great judgment the points of comparison between his own & the civil law—so as not to leave room for a moment's hesitation on its superiority—& tho the latin may not bear a comparison with that of the augustan age, it is certainly far superior to that of most Law writers of the same period, and indeed many parts of the work are written with remarkable strength and beauty.

June 13—As I do not wish to begin my Ld Coke before I go into the country I have determined to read 2 short but very important works Gilbert's & Wright's Tenures—began the former & read to day the pref. & p 1-32. and Dio * p. 746-753.—I think Caligula was the most extraordinary character I have ever read of—he seems to have lookd upon the senators as the most consummate fools, & to have treated them as such with all the coolness imaginable—It is impossible to refrain from smiling at his speech to the senate p. 748.

June 22. Read Wrights Tenures p. 57-134—I also looked over the last number of the Edinburgh Review (65), but only found time to read the 2 articles which appeard most interesting, the first, & the last—the first a splendid critique on Ivanhoe & worthy of that inimitable work—nothing but prejudice however could in-

* Cassius.

duce them to think it inferior to any but Old Mortality. —the critique on Demosthenes gives the truest character of that great orator, that I ever recollect to have met with—From the small number of his orations that I have read—perhaps I am not able to appreciate his merits—but three or four Phillippics have taught me to join almost with enthusiasm in an opinion which has remained the same and nearly uncontested for two thousand years—the critic has truly said that he is "without any ostentation of profound reflection or philosophical remark—without the glare & attraction of prominent ornaments"—in Demosthenes we never think of the beauty of the language, whilst in Cicero we stop often to admire the finely turnd period, & elegance of expression—but in Demosthenes it is the *soul* which pervades every word, which strengthens & connects every argument, which leads us irresistibly—not to admiration of the speaker—to conviction—he stops to catch a figure—to polish an expression—but with his eye & his thoughts fixed on one object—he rushes to it and bears along the opinions of his hearers by a simplicity, a strength, a closeness of argument which joined to the vigour, and correctness of his language—rendered the opposition of the talents and corruption of Athens alike unavailing—No remark is more correct than that "the vigor, the sublimity of Demosthenes of which we read so much is not discoverable in detachd parts—in striking & brilliant passages, but in the effect of the whole" At first I was accustomed to look for & read these passages & was uniformly disappointed—it was not til I had read the whole, that I was at all able to judge of them—& it a pleasure to me that that judgment has not differd from that of the greatest men of all ages—The remark of the critic is, from my own experience, as true in opinion as beautiful in expression—"that an attempt to give the effect of any of his orations by selection, or the

merit of the whole by splendid passages, would be as hopeless as to produce an adequate idea of the bounding elasticity—the matchless symmetry and etherial attitude of the entire Apollo, by the production of a finger or an ear''—

October 7. I this morning again closed my Ld. Coke —I find that I have been considerably longer reading it than I was last year. Tho I have no reason to alter the opinion I then formed of it. If it be true that to appreciate the beauties & know the excellencies and advantages of the English language we must devote our days and nights to Addison—it is not less true that to understand the english laws we must apply to the writings of Sir Edward Coke with unwearied diligence the maxim of Horatius ''nocturna versate manu, versate diurna''.

Oct. 8. I have now arrived at the close of another year and on looking over my different stories and the amount of them I do not think that I have been idle tho I might have been more industrious—I have been gradually forming more regular habits of study and I am firmly convinced that only by so doing shall I be enabled to devote my self to it as I ought and I hope that at the end of the succeeding year I shall have it in my power to look back to my studies with still greater satisfaction—My knowledge of law the great and important object of my labors has I hope and I think widely expanded but it is a science which requires a greater exercise of the mind and the memory than any I have yet engaged in and I am not discouraged that my long and patient labors should sometimes be forgotten in a few months. From my historical and miscellaneous reading I have derived each day new pleasures and I have found that it is in the original writers that the mind will be best satisfied—that the waters are purest at the fountain whence they spring.

I have become a good french scholar and seldom find

myself at a loss in reading that language—while I have learned to appreciate the beauties of the italian, a delightful language which I shall continue to cultivate with diligence—I have not neglected however, for the more elegant pursuits of literature, those branches of natural science which should never be forgotten entirely amidst our other occupations and I have been able by devoting a leisure hour still to keep the recollection of them in my mind.

March 17. (1821.) Read Tidd's References 254-260 —I spent my leisure yesterday & to day in skimming over a book I have long wished to see—Petronius Arbiter—& I find it much less gay & interesting than I had expected and far more indelicate—yet I could not help smiling at the eagerness with which the old commentators introduce all that is indecent to illustrate him—The edition which I read is one which swells to 886 pages a text that might be contained with ease in 50 many are intirely composed of notes few contain more than 5 or 6 lines of the text. It may well be imagined I did not read all this voluminous nonsense—

August 5. Sunday. Un. Hist. to the end of ch. 12— Such is the end of this mighty empire 2,200 years after Romulus had just collected his robbers on the seven hills—The boldness of youth—the glories of manhood are not disgraced in the last moments of dissolution and I am not ashamed to drop a tear at the late tho inevitable fate.

I have now traced it gradually rising by prudence or by arms from the crafty but politic Octavius to the warlike Trajan & virtuous Aurelius—a point at which historians have presumed to fix the era of greatness— I have seen the darkness which veiled the earlier & doubtful ages of decline brightened for a moment by the *maturity* of the *youthful* Alexander—the courage & conquests of Aurelian—or the virtues of Tacitus and Florian men not unworthy of the ancestor whom

they claimed—I have seen the energy of a single emperor establish a new religion and a new metropolis — a religion which has spread over the most celebrated nations & often triumphed over the temporal power but which in the East was taught to bow to the just & prudent authority of the emperors till it gave way to the victorious arms of an infidel & a barbarian—I have traced the empire reviving with ancient lustre under Iulian—the prince—the soldier—the philosopher—brightening for a moment from the splendor of the generals & lawyers of Iustanian—then gradually sinking thro the course of 900 years by internal weakness & external power till it was bounded by the most of Constantinople—at last while the crescent was planting on the walls; the cross gleamed for an instant from the virtues of the last Constantine and then sunk for ever—Perhaps the first Caesar who fell beneath the avenging dagger of Brutus in raising the mighty fabric might envy the last of his imperial race who ably refused to survive the accumulated ruin of fifteen ages & willingly sunk the last of the empire of Rome.

August 6. I abstracted & reduced to writing the cases & points in the last section of Mr. Fearne.

September 1. Since my father has been ill I have not read regularly tho I believe I have not any day entirely neglected my law or my history. I have read Fearne—thro the section on executed & executory trusts & the cases particularly the two long reports of Bagshaw & Spencer in Collect. Iur. 280-310—& 2 Atk 570-584 & supposed by the masterly comments of Mr. Fearne I have presumed to differ with lord Hardwicke—I have also gone thro the three sections on Perrin & Blake twice & shall finish the subject, I hope tomorrow, by reading the different reports of that celebrated case—I have finished the history of the Goths—of the Ostrogoths in Italy—of the Vandals—

& of the Suevians in the 19th volume of the Universal History.

September 2. Read the report of Perrin & Blake in 4 Burr.—Black, Rep.—Doug.—Collect: Iurid:—& Sir. W. Blackstone's argument in Cam. Scac:—the last & Yates' I opinion in Collect: Iur. are admirable—It is not a little surprising that the greatest chancellor & greatest judge that England has ever had sh'd each have endeavored thus to break thro an established law & introduce an arbitrary & discretionary rule in its place—read Un. Hist. of the Franks to 377.

AN EARLY DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

LETTER OF CHRISTOPHER SOWER, WRITTEN IN 1724, DESCRIBING CONDITIONS IN PHILADELPHIA AND VICINITY, AND THE SEA VOYAGE FROM EUROPE.[1]

CONTRIBUTED BY PROFESSOR R. W. KELSEY
Haverford College, Pa.

Johann Christoph Sauer (Christopher Sower), the writer of the following letter, was born 1693 in Laasphe, a village not far from Marburg, Germany. He came to America in 1724 with his wife and their infant son Christopher (born 1721). In the spring of 1725 the family removed to Ephrata, Pa., where they remained about six years. In 1731 they returned to Germantown and settled there permanently. Christopher Sower, the elder, died in 1758.

He was a pharmacist by trade, but is best known for his publishing activities. In 1738 he received a printing outfit from Germany and began at once to print in German for his fellow countrymen in America. Altogether he published over two hundred works in German and English, most of them of a religious nature. His son Christopher became the well-known Bishop of the Church of the Brethren, in Germantown. The name of the first Christopher Sower, printer and publisher, is still retained by the Christopher Sower Publishing Company, of Philadelphia.—For further details of the life of the first immigrant see Charles G. Sower, *Genealogical Chart of Descendants of Christopher Sower.* Philadelphia, 1887.

---

[1] A transcription of the German original of this letter may be examined in the Library of Haverford College.

The German original of the following letter is in the library of the University of Göttingen, Germany. In the labor of transcribing and translating it, the chief credit should go to my former teacher, Dr. Adolph Gerber. The letter, apart from its important historical data, is so full of human aspiration, religious sincerity, and wonder stories of the New World, as to deserve a permanent place in the romance of early Pennsylvania.

R. W. Kelsey

Letter

Germantown, Dec. 1, 1724.

Dear brothers and friends,

Since I left all of you, dear friends, and promised to write how we arrived here in America and how we lived, many have desired in addition that I should report somewhat more in detail on the quality of this country. Since it is not possible to make a special report to each one, many may make shift with one account.

The sea voyage has been reported upon. I, therefore, pass it over and will say in short that we sailed in 16 hours from Holland to England and arrived there, at Dover, where our ship was cleared. We were, however, obliged to wait there about 3 weeks for a favorable wind. We were out 6 weeks and 3 days from land to land and had neither hot nor cold weather, also little storm, but as pleasant weather as in the month of May. During the greatest storm we were all, my wife and children, on deck by the fire, and baking cookies. Nor did we hear of any man that was afraid of the sea and the storm. The Palatines had their fun with it. When our ship would sometimes roll or pitch, they said: "The lion has fetched another mouthful of water." My wife said: "I thought people would be afraid if they saw nothing but sky and water." Our troubles were only: 1. That we had not taken an extra ration

of water along, instead of believing the captain so fully that he would give us as much as we wanted. There were 3 liters of water per 5 persons per day, which to be sure would have sufficed for extra cooking, but the beer was used up too soon. 2. The meat was oversalted. 3. The cod-fish was soaked in fresh water, to be sure, but cooked in the same water in which it was soaked. 4. All people on shipboard got lice. 5. The greatest trouble was that there were too many people, so that quarters were restricted, and with many there was not a little stench. Yet we did not suffer from it because we three families had larger accommodations than the others.

During this voyage, of 6 weeks and 3 days, we lacked only the necessary east wind, and were obliged to sail with nothing but tack and head-winds, and it was wonderful that the sailors knew so exactly in what part of the sea they were. It is 1100 leagues from England to this coast, and yet the head-helmsman, though he is a young man and had never made this voyage before, hit it within three hours when we should see land. Because we had a strong wind, we got, however, a distance of 23 leagues to the left side of the river called Delaware. God, however, sent us a south wind which carried us in one day into the river. When evening came all were full of joy because we saw the river. When almost everybody had gone to bed the helmsman begged the captain, since they were close to a sandbank which barred the river, to cast anchor until daybreak; otherwise they would be in danger, as there were only 12 feet of water at that place. The captain, however, was not willing, but thought of still getting into the river. While the captain was still consulting with the sailors, the prow of the ship struck the sandbank although they had scarcely advanced a stone's throw after they had cast the plummet and still found 7 fathoms. And because the bank was hilly, the ship

struck ground as many as 18 times, so that we thought it would go to pieces. Then the people came running out in their night-shirts. Simultaneously there were heard cries of distress from young and old, but I and 2 other men were without fear. My wife lay quite still and our child slept and did not wake up. In the meantime I remained firm in the hope that none of us would come into danger. The captain cried aloud and grew quite pale. Because, however, all sails were still set, the wind lifted the ship from one hill to the other. Then they wished to cut the mast. The head helmsman wished to have the three boats lowered and the people taken ashore, for we were scarcely half a league away from it. The captain forbade it because he was afraid everybody might desire to be first and therefore they might get drowned sooner than in the ship. When this distress had lasted a quarter of an hour, we were in deep water again. There we rode at anchor until daybreak and got a favorable wind.

Now we were still 100 miles from the boundary of Pennsylvania and instead of taking 8 to 10 days, as many do in getting up the river, we, with an extraordinarily good wind, arrived at Philadelphia Sunday noon, October first, and while they were casting anchor in the river they fired 22 guns. Then a great crowd of people came running to see the new comers. Then people came and brought apples to divide among the people [passengers], others brought fresh bread and the like, and when I went ashore a man came up to me and asked whether I was free and did not owe anything. I said I did not owe the captain anything, but I had to pay something to a Palatine for brandy. The man went to get 20 Florins with which I was to pay and make my start. N. N. are now free. They are living together and have their place free from debt this winter and they have been offered, if they desired an allotment for pastures and fields, to get as much as

they wanted; they might also cut wood free of charge. There have also been made considerable contributions for them. N. is also free and his friends in Holland have raised 288 Florins for him. I myself, however, who had not been suffering any want, was given 10 Florins by some one without my desire. Then I bought some tin because earthenware was said to be very high here. Thus the Lord has taken us safely to this country. His name be praised.

Scarcely had I arrived here when I was offered a vocation, as a foundry was to be constructed. I was to superintend it and, in order to be all the more faithful, I was to have an interest in the foundry and its returns. But because I said that I felt no special inclination and besides had no money for the construction, they wanted to advance me up to 1000 Thaler and compensate me for losses. I said however that I felt no inclination and did not aspire to great things in this world and went away, rented a house and moved in. Then there came one good friend after another and they brought me very many apples, whole baskets full, also nuts, wine, spelt, wheat, bread, eggs, turnips, cabbage, dried pears, buckwheat, chickens, pork and beef, of which I have salted 120 pounds, and presents are coming from a distance of 20 leagues [i. e. 60 miles] for the newly arrived Schwartzenau people.

For the rest we have nearly all been ill and those who had been well on shipboard have become ill here, also people with the strongest constitutions. Those however who come here weakly and sickly generally grow strong again and live to old age, the doctors say. Because they make a change of sky and earth, water and air, food and drink, they generally grow strong and their whole constitution changes.

Because one may hold here as much property as one wishes, also pay for it when one desires, everybody hurries to take up some property. One may choose

where one pleases. The farther one goes, the better it is. This continent, as may be seen on the map, is almost as large as the other three continents together and has south of New England, say Spain, Virginia, Ne-gro-land, Pennsylvania; north of New England, New Holland, the borders of York, New France, unto the region lying beyond us, which cannot be inhabited on account of the cold. The farther the Germans and English cultivate this country, the farther the Indians retreat. They are our nearest neighbors and quite agreeable and peaceable. They would rather harm their own king than a German; they have very simple clothing. They do not gather more than they expect to eat. If a man's wife dies between seed-time and harvest, he gathers only for himself; the remainder is left standing. The traders take a few pounds of powder and lead and fetch for them whole wagon loads of ox-hides, deer-skins and bear-skins. There is also an excellent method of leather dressing known here, such that a tawer with his own hand may completely dress 20 deer-skins in about 2 or 3 days so that they may be wrought by the tailor. Hence leather is very cheap and is worn much, and an honest old friend told me that in summer on warm days one may shoot a deer, dress the skin, and wear a pair of pants from it on the body within 24 hours.

As for the savages, they are dark yellow, believe that there is a God who has created everything and are very much afraid to commit a sin. They believe God does not like it and is looking on. If one has committed a fornication, they stone him to death by the roadside right away and anyone who within 20 years passes by where the malefactor lies, seeks a rock and increases the pile to show the All-seeing that he has a horror of such uncleanliness. They also believe that, when they are dead, and have lived such a life that the Pure One was not pleased with it, they will go to the North where

it is very cold; in that land there is a bad ruler who torments them and lets them suffer from the cold. On the other hand the good go to the South where it is nice and warm, and a good ruler receives them kindly. They think more of a hen that is laying eggs than of some ducats. They make baskets and brooms and bring them here or to Philadelphia and accept blue blankets and red stockings, knives, etc., in exchange. The wise know full well the meaning of the godhead and call God in their language "Acs." and speak of him with fear, saying that the Acs sees it. Other simple minded ones say that the Acs at first made only one man and woman. At that time the garden in which he placed them was only small. But now that men had become many, the garden also has grown larger; and similar simple minded talk. They are putting most Europeans to shame by their behavior.

The Pennsylvania borders lie between other well settled countries, most of them belonging to the King of England. This country also is pretty well settled and is said to have over 100,000 inhabitants, consisting of French, Welsh, Swedes, Dutch and Germans. There are some companies in this country that have bought it of William Penn, to whom the king and his heirs have granted it. Here may one select a piece [of land] where one desires, near or far. All inhabitants of this country are free to live quietly and piously by themselves and everybody may believe what he chooses.

Whether the land be good or bad is seen by the trees. Where there are many chestnuts and alder trees growing, the soil is somewhat poor, but where there are many cedars, walnut trees, white and black oaks, sassafras, poplars, beeches and the like, there it is better. In short, this country is a very good and blessed land before many other countries and must be called, as it were, an earthly paradise. Also everything is growing nice, straight, high and fast. Many people make a liv-

ing by planting fruit trees and selling the young trees so that, when somebody chooses a farm, he may at once have fruit trees and plant them and gather from them the first year. But if one sows seeds himself, he may have fruit from them in 5 years. The land is not really dear. One takes up 200 acres, promises to pay, by installments, within 10 years, and instead clears off his debt in 5 years. According as the land is near or far from the city [prices vary]. Near the city it is high. An acre of woodland is purchased for 1 Florin, perhaps also for 2, 3, 4, or more, according as it may furnish good pasture. I scarcely know of any tree, any herb, any animal which is with you that is not here; any thorn, any thistles, any toads, any cuckoo. On the other hand there are a thousand things more than with you, which do not just occur to me, as sassafras, aloe, myrrhs, Brazilwood, precious stones, white coral, lodestone in large quantities. Many a man has bought a property for 100 Florins and found 1000 Florins in gold, silver, copper ore, and people only lack smelters. They gladly give a third part to him who can smelt. A false rumor went out that I could smelt. I have therefore been pestered much by the poor people who were gold and silver struck. There is also much copper ore here. Iron stone occurs in such great quantities that it lies often for a space of some miles only knee-deep in the ground, and is rich in iron. They say 100 pounds of stone contains 70-80 pounds of iron. Up to the present time the iron is not even melted, but they carry the iron-stone right away to the forge and bake bars. As far as one buys land by the water, so far also the water is his. He may fish, dig, hunt there what he wishes and is able to do. Neither in the country nor in the city are any imposts known, no duty, no excise, no contribution, in short nothing but a ground-rent of about 20 Kreuzer on 100 acres and twice a year the neighbors congregate to repair the roads. There are

people who have been living here for 40 years and have not seen a beggar in Philadelphia.

The land yields spelt, barley, wheat, oats, buckwheat, tobacco, Indian corn, also all your garden vegetables in great abundance. I cannot describe all the fruit. There are seven kinds of peaches. Many a man drinks cherry-wine and cider the whole year; also brandy is made of them. There is also plenty of domesticated cattle. A fat ox of 5-600 pounds is worth 10-12 Thaler, a cow for 7-8 Thaler, a sheep 2 Florins, horses as with you, a quart of wine 30, 40, 50 Kreuzer, the strong beer 3 Batzen, the weak 6 Pfennig.

Artisan's work is dear. The English carpenters are usually joiners at the same time and receive a Florin a day and board. The carpenters who work on the ships—for there are many ships building here—get 1 Thaler 1 Groschen per day. Turner's work is very dear, a spinning wheel 5 Florins. There are no stocking weavers at all in this country. Stockings are therefore dear. A Thaler is paid to knit a pair of stockings and the knitters have plenty to do. The linen-weavers have three times as high wages as with you. An industrious spinning-girl earns 5 Groschen per day. Four Groschen are paid for carding a pound of wool. A day laborer gets 10, 12, 15 Groschen per day, and 21 times a week meat with his board; in winter 8 Groschen and his board and nobody works longer than while the sun is shining. The day, however, is in summer 2 hours shorter and in winter 2 hours longer. There is also a special lack of rope makers here. The hemp which is raised here has therefore to be exported elsewhere in order to make the ropes needed for shipbuilding here. A quart of fish oil is 6 Groschen, honey 10 Groschen a quart, a pound of soap 4 Groschen, a pound of feathers 10 Groschen. There is no lack of chickens, geese, ducks and the like. A pound of butter

is 2 or 2½ Groschen, occasionally 3 Groschen; 12 eggs 1 Groschen. All spices are twice as high as with you except that which grows in this country and looks like pepper. A pound of steel is 8 Groschen, a quire of paper 8 Groschen,—the poor kind that is made here, 5 Groschen. As for mills there are no more than 100 in this country. The miller takes the tenth part and has it run through only once. He who wants the bran has to separate it from the flour himself. There are also bolters in this country so that one may have the flour as fine as one desires. I know of 5 fulling mills. A farm hand gets 100 Florins a year, a girl 50 Florins. There is a lack of all artisans, for, when an artisan has collected a sum of money in 3 or 4 years, maybe even in 1 or 2 years, he buys a farm and moves into the country.

There are found few stables and barns here, for they put the grain up in round piles and thresh it in good weather on the ground and because there are scarcely 3 or 4 days of really cold weather when ice appears, they let their cattle run summer and winter in their inclosed woodlands. They either fell the large trees or take young stems and place them one upon another to the height of 6 feet and then let all cattle go where they please. They provide all the large cattle with bells of different tones in order to be able to find them among the many in case the farm is large, for everybody reserves woodland and firewood for himself. A teamster asks 5 Florins to drive a cart of wood to which he hitches 5 little horses.

House rent is high because the houses are all built of bricks. The city has already 2000 houses occupied chiefly by English Quakers and merchants; it is situated right on the river Delaware, as Mainz or Cologne on the Rhine, and has 2 fairs a year. According to appearances, plainness is vanishing pretty much. The dear

old folks, most of whom are dead by this time, may have spoken to their children a good deal about plainness. It is still noticeable in the clothes except that the material is very costly, or is even velvet. Anything may be had at Philadelphia, but everything is twice as dear. A bottle of Cologne water of 15 Pfennig is here 5 Groschen, an ivory comb 1 Groschen [Florin?], a dozen brass buttons, which cost 5, 6, –7 Kreutzer with you, 6-10 Groschen. The wholesale trade is very brisk on account of the adjoining countries. The Palatines have brought very many goods with them so that many a man has made up to 600 Florins by this trip, for everything was free because it was not examined in England. There were among the people some who to my knowledge had 40,000 sewing needles, a hundred of which cost in Holland up to 10 Groschen, here 2 Thaler. One had sold 300 scythes here at 20 Groschen each. Gunpowder is 4 Groschen a pound in Holland, here 17 Groschen, a scythe-stone 1 Groschen, here 8 Groschen, and one had several hundred stones etc., etc.

P. S. I wrote you, when the first vessel left here, by what means a poor man, who has not even 5, 6, 7 Thaler, may come over here. Now if God wishes to have you come here, he will also give you ways and means to do so. In case Mr. Kuster, as he desires, should obtain free passage from the king, see to it that, apart from the ship's fare, you provide yourself with such food as you are accustomed to, dried bread, sausages, flour, butter, dried fruit, and something to move the bowels, because one easily gets constipated on shipboard. And if you, dear friends, should be expelled from a place and God should desire to lead you here, cling then firmly to the arm of God, as children are wont to do, and do not worry, for where a father goes, who has plenty of everything, the children may easily follow. In all your doings let this be your

touch-stone, whether your heart is earthly. Seek only heavenly things, otherwise earthly things may flee away, or you may have to leave them. May God guide you according to His will! I greet you all and remain,

Yours affectionately,

Joh. Christoph Sauer

Germantown, 2 leagues from Philadelphia, Dec. 1, 1724.

ROBERT STREET, ARTIST.

Robert Street, painter of portraits and historical subjects, was for many years a resident of Philadelphia, where he did much excellent work.

He was born in 1796, and exhibited in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts during the period between 1815-1817. In 1824 his portraits were shown in Washington, D. C., where he painted several well-known men. In 1835 Dunlap records the death of Street and the artist had the most unique experience of calling the author's attention to such a grave error. Dunlap corrects his error with many apologies in the New York Mirror of the issue of Feb. 28, 1835. In 1840, Robert Street held an exhibition of his work showing over two hundred oil paintings of historical subjects, landscapes, and portraits.

Catalogues of this exhibition are accessible, but unfortunately they give little valuable information regarding the portraits, as they are frequently recorded as merely "a portrait of a lady" or a "portrait of a gentleman." This Exhibition opened on November 18, 1840, at the Artists' Fund Hall, Philadelphia.

The following list of his paintings should be of interest to the student of American Art, as little or nothing has heretofore been published concerning the artist or his work.

Mantle Fielding
Germantown, Phil[a].

PORTRAITS.

De Bignis, Signor (vocalist). Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Blackburn, Dr. (of Illinois). Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Bonaparte, Joseph. Bust, 25″ x 30″. Owned by John F. Lewis, Phila.

Chambers, Rev. John. Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Gibson, John Bannister. Bust, 29″ x 36″. Owned by Law Association of Phila.

Pryor, Mr. Painted in 1821. Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Rowland, Judge (of Phila.). Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Russell, Henry (vocalist). Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Shaw, Rosina (vocalist). Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Shearer, Hon. Jacob. Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Street, Mrs. Robt. (artist's wife). Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Street (Son of Robert Street). Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Washington, Geo. Bust, 25″ x 30″. Owned by John F. Lewis, Phila. (Founded on the Houdon bust.)

SUBJECT PAINTINGS AND VIEWS.

Maniac Assaulting His Keeper. Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

Prophecy of Simeon (size 9 ft. x 12 ft.). Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Philadelphia, 1840.

Vision of Heaven. Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

View on Chesapeake Bay. Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

View of Columbia Rail Road Bridge. Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

View of Wissahickon Stream, Phila. Exhibited at Artists' Fund Hall, Phila., 1840.

THE SECOND TROOP PHILADELPHIA CITY CAVALRY.

BY W. A. NEWMAN DORLAND, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S.
Major, Medical Corps, U. S. Army; formerly First Lieutenant and Surgeon of the Troop (April 1, 1898–November 10, 1903.)

[*For References see pages 278–291.*]

Captains of the Old Troop

1. Owen Faries, May, 1775—December 2, 1780
2. David Snyder, Dec. 2, 1780—April, 1786
3. Robert Hopkins, April, 1786—May 24, 1788
4. William Bingham, May 24, 1788—May 11, 1792
5. Major William Jackson, May 11, 1792—July 9, 1793
6. Abraham Singer, July 9, 1793—1802
7. Joseph Borden McKean, 1802—1803
8. Thomas Willing Francis, 1803—May 7, 1810
9. Thomas Cadwalader, May 7, 1810—Aug. 1, 1814
10. William Rawle, Jr., Aug. 1, 1814—1817
11. John Morris Scott, 1817—1819
12. Benjamin Say, 1819—July 10, 1822
13. Robert Milnor, July 10, 1822—1823

Lieutenant Commandant George Heberton Van Gelder 1823—Nov. 1824

14. John Price Wetherill, Nov. 1824—Nov. 1838
15. Thomas Tustin, Sept. 14, 1844—April 2, 1846.
16. John Barington, April 2, 1846—Feb. 12, 1848
17. Charles H. Hunter, Feb. 14, 1848—August 20, 1850

Captains of the Present Troop

Lieut. Commandant Henry Douglas Hughes, Dec. 10, 1897.

Frank A. Edwards, December 10, 1897—June 4, 1898.

Richard Tilghman, July 26, 1898—September 20, 1898.

Frank Earle Schermerhorn, October 14, 1898—October 22, 1908.

John Penman Wood, October 30, 1908—February 20, 1911.

Charles Welsh Edmunds, March 3, 1911—July 7, 1914.

John William Good, July 16, 1914—

John Burton Mustin, 1919—

Chapter I

THE ORIGIN OF THE SECOND TROOP.

The battle of Lexington was fought on April 19, 1775. Five days later, on April 24, news of that memorable event reached Philadelphia. At about five o'clock in the afternoon of that day, a courier, a special express from Trenton, dust-begrimed and travel-stained, galloped down the Frankford road and into the bounds of the city, stopping at each tavern on the way long enough only to shout his stirring news, then on to the city hall. The fight for national liberty was on, and the next morning, April 25, everyone in the city of Philadelphia knew it. The important Committee of Correspondence of the City and County of Philadelphia, whose authority was recognized and accepted by all, immediately convened and transacted what was, up to that time, the most important business that had come before it. A single brief resolution was passed: —"To associate together, to defend with arms their property, liberty, and lives against all attempts to deprive them of it." It was evident that the time for organization, arming, drilling and marching had come.

At once active enrollment began. In order to provide an armed force for the protection of the city it was agreed that "two troops of light horse, two companies of riflemen, and two companies of artillery, with brass and iron field-pieces" should be provided immediately.[1]

There had already been organized, on November 17, 1774, a troop of light horse, under the captaincy of Abraham Markoe, which ultimately became the famous First City Troop of Philadelphia. Enrollment in the other organizations authorized by the Committee proceeded actively. On May 1, 1775, it was reported that "Two troops of light horse are now raising. Two companies of expert *Riflemen,* and two companies of Artillerymen are forming."[2] As early as May 10, 1775, some of the companies were ready to parade to receive Congress and offer an honorable escort to John Hancock. At that time "the foot company and the riflemen turned out to meet the southern delegates to Congress at Gray's Ferry."

April 25, 1775, must, therefore, be designated as the date of origin of the Second Troop of Light Horse, which in due course of time became known as the *Second Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse,* and ultimately as the *Second City Troop.* So energetically[3] was the drilling persisted in that as early as June, 1775, "the three battalions, mustering 1500 men, with the artillery companyof 150 men and 6 guns (two 12 pounders and four brass 6 pounders), the troop of light horse [First City Troop], and several companies of light infantry, rangers,[4] and riflemen,[5] in the whole about 2000 men, marched to the commons" and publicly drilled. It was not until sometime later that the Second Troop of Light Horse had acquired sufficient proficiency in the manipulation of their horses and accoutrements to appear in public.

For some time the two troops were indiscriminately known as Philadelphia Light Horse or Philadel-

phia Light Dragoons, but ultimately they were distinguished as the First and Second Troops, or were frequently indicated by the names of their commanding officers. The historical records prove that even antedating the Revolutionary period there was in Philadelphia a body of horse known as "Light Dragoons," which in all probability, was a survival of the "*Independent Troop of Horse of Philadelphia City,*" which was organized in 1756, and which served creditably in the French and Indian War. It is interesting to note on the muster-rolls of the Light Dragoons of later date many of the names of the members of the *Independent Troop.*

But little is known of the doings of the Second Troop of Light Horse, which was authorized on April 25, 1775, during the first year of its existence. It is recorded that in the last week of May, 1776, General Washington, the members of Congress, and Generals Gates and Thomas Mifflin received the four battalions, the Rifle battalion, the Light Horse and three artillery companies of the city militia, amounting to near 2500 men. In 1777, there is on file the first complete roster of the Second Troop, which was designated the County Troop, in order to distinguish it from the First, or City, Troop. This is a muster of the "Light Dragoons for the County of Philadelphia, with the Battalion they belong to annexed to their names, includng part of the city." It is as follows:—[6]

Captain, Owen Faries, 7.
Lieutenant, David Snyder.
Cornett, Casper Dull.

Dragoons.

[7] Griffith Jones, 7.
[8] Simon Bennett, 2.
[9] George Haas, 7.
[10] William Peast [Priest], 2.
[11] Jacob Benner, 7.

[12] Samuel Neswanger, 2.
Charles Porter, 6.
[13] Jacob Gross, 6.
Paul Cooklis [Corlies?], 6.
Jacob Hopple, 2.
[14] Andrew Keen, 2.
[15] Jonathan Leech, 2.
[16] Henry Miller, 6.
[17] John Trocksell [Troxsell], 1.
[18] Christian Steer, 6.
[19] Isaac Humphreys [Humphrey], 1.
[20] Thomas Vanderslice, 6.
[21] Robert Gregg, 1.
[22] John Nice, 4.
[23] John Humphreys [Humphrey], 1.
[24] Jacob Markley, 4.
[25] Jacob Wollery [Woolery], 1.
[26] Josiah Pawling, 3.
[27] Nathan [Nathaniel] Vansandt, 2.
Baker Barns, 1.
[28] Jacob Funk, City.
[29] Benjamin Watton [Wotten], 2.
[30] Josiah Matlock [Matlack], 2.
[31] David Davis.
Robert Hopkins, City.
[32] Isaac Keen, 2.
[33] Edward Duffield.
[34] Thomas Chapple [Chappel], 2.
Abraham Duffield, 2.
[35] George Benner, City.
[36] John Brewner [Bruner].
[37] Samuel Boucher [Butcher, 2.
Nathaniel Bellew.
John Braden.

"Wm. Coats, Lieut. Philadelphia County."

It is interesting to note that even at this early date in the list of privates of the Troop appear many names that ultimately became famous in Philadelphia annals, such as Hopkins, Duffield, Keen, Humphreys, Davis, Jones, Leech and Matlack.

The Militia Law of the Commonwealth, enacted by the General Assembly the 17th day of March, 1777, under which the Troop had been included in the organized militia of the city and county of Philadelphia, had become inefficient and no longer answered the desired purpose. A new law had become necessary, and an excellent conception of the composition of a troop of horse of this period may be entertained from the fol-

lowing extracts, bearing upon the cavalry, taken from the law enacted March 20, 1780 entitled "An Act for the Regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:"—[38]

"Sect. 8. And whereas it is expedient to embody such a number of light horse as will be useful when the militia is called into actual service; therefore,

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That each of the lieutenants of the several counties of this state may form a corps of light horse, not to exceed six privates for each battalion of infantry in each county, to be taken distributively out of each, in case volunteers offer; otherwise at large, throughout the county; and the light horse shall be officered as light horse usually are, and shall be subject to appear upon muster days, and shall turn out in classes as other militia; . . . .

"Sect. 9. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Troop of light horse in the city of Philadelphia shall be limited to the number of fifty, exclusive of officers; the vacancies thereof to be filled in the manner heretofore practiced; and the said troop shall be liable to appear on muster days, and to be called out into service as other militia; and the light horse of this state when in actual service shall be subject to the same rules and regulations as the foot militia, and to like fines and penalties for neglect of meeting on muster days or turning out on their tour when thereunto called; such fines and penalties to be appropriated as the fines and penalties for like offenses in other cases."

The two City Troops of Light Horse shared in the honor of participating in the first celebration of the Fourth of July, of which the following interesting account is preserved[39]:—"Last Friday the 4th of July, [1777], being the anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America, was celebrated in this

city with demonstrations of joy and festivity. About noon all armed ships and gallies in the river were drawn up before the city, dressed in the gayest manner, with the colours of the United States and streamers displayed. At one o'clock, the yards being properly manned, they began the celebration of the day by a discharge of thirteen cannon from each of the ships, and one from each of the thirteen gallies, in honor of the Thirteen United States. In the afternoon an elegant dinner was prepared for Congress, to which were invited the President and Supreme Executive Council, and Speaker of the Assembly of this State, the General Officers and Colonels of the army, and strangers of eminence, and the Members of the several Continental Boards in town. The Hessian band of music, taken in Trenton the 26th of December last, attended and heightened the festivity with some fine performances suited to the joyous occasion, while a corps of British deserters, taken into the service of the continent by the State of Georgia, being drawn up before the door, filled up the intervals with *feux de joie.* After dinner a number of toasts were drank all breathing independence and a generous love of liberty, and commemorating the memories of those brave and worthy patriots who gallantly exposed their lives, and fell gloriously in defence of freedom and the righteous cause of their country. Each toast was followed by a discharge of artillery and small arms, and a suitable piece of music by the Hessian band. The glorious fourth of July was reiterated three times, accompanied with triple discharges of cannon and small arms, and loud huzzas that resounded from street to street through the city. Towards evening several troops of horse, a corps of artillery, and a brigade of North Carolina forces, which was in town on its way to join the grand army, were drawn up in Second street, and reviewed by Congress and the General Officers. The

evening was closed with the ringing of bells, and at night there was a grand exhibition of fire works (which began and concluded with thirteen rockets) on the Commons, and the city was beautifully illuminated. Everything was conducted with the greatest order and decorum, and the face of joy and gladness was universal. Thus may be the fourth of July, that glorious and ever memorable day, be celebrated through America, by the sons of freedom, from age to age till time shall be no more. Amen and Amen."

The intense interest exhibited by Captain Faries in the welfare of his Troop is shown by the following letter which is characteristic of the time:—[40]

"To His Excellency Joseph Reed Esq^{r} President of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

"Esteemed Sir,

"Necessity absolute necessity, compels me to apply in Behalf of the Troop raised in Philad^{a} County, for a few Horsemen Swords, as they cannot properly Equip themselves under two months, knowing that it is a Desire near to your Heart that they Should be properly trained, it Imboldened me to make this application.

"Suffer me to assure your Excellency that we shall be ready at your call, & allways happy to have you at the head of us.

"Should the favour be granted us of 30 Swords, I will be accountable for them, & return them Whenever I am ordered.

& I am Sir, with Esteem
Your most obe^{t} servt.

"German Town, 5th May, 1780." "Owen Ferris"

What actual service the Troop saw during the earlier Revolutionary times is not known. It is probable that for a time, at least, it constituted a portion of the

Home Guard, and as such it is known to have participated on Tuesday, May 23d, 1780, in a review of the militia of the city and adjoining districts by President Reed of the State.[41] Upon this occasion, "The Artillery, Infantry and Light Horse, together amounted to Two Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty. The whole made a very handsome appearance, and gave the highest satisfaction to the friends of Liberty and the Independence of America. Major-General St. Clair, Major-General Wayne, and other Gentlemen of the army were present: And the citizens under arms were peculiarly gratified with the presence of his Excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Minister of France, who has on all occasions shewn the closest attention to the interest and honor of America, and on the present occasion expressed great pleasure at the martial appearance of the militia."

President Reed was so pleased at the showing of the military that he issued the following notice:—[42]

"The President of the State with pleasure embraces the first public opportunity to thank the Gentlemen of the Troops of Light Horse, of Artillery and Infantry Militia, for their numerous and military appearance last Tuesday—so respectable a body of Citizens armed in defence of American Liberty, after five years *cruel war* waged against it, must afford true delight to every lover of his country, and strike our enemies, both internal and external, with despair. The spirit and attention shown by the officers in so short a time since their appointment, is a most happy omen of their future improvement and success, and we may justly flatter ourselves, that their example will diffuse its influence through the whole State, combining the three great qualities which constitute the Patriot Soldier, Courage, Discipline, and an Ardent Love of his Country.

Chapter II.

IN ACTIVE SERVICE IN THE REVOLUTION.

Shortly after this review, on June 17, 1780, there appeared another roster of the Troop.[43] The officers at this time were:—

Captain, Owen Faries.
First Lieutenant, John Dover.[44]
Second Lieutenant, David Snyder.
Cornet, Casper Dull.

The advance of the British forces toward Philadelphia brought to the Troop its first tour of duty. Late in June, 1780, it was placed on waiting orders, as the following letter indicates:—[45]

"To the Hon'ble, the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania.

"Gentlemen,

Agreeable to the Resolve of Council of 15th June last, the Lieutenant of the County of Philadelphia begs leave to report that in consequence of the orders contained in said Resolve, the Gentlemen composing the Troop of Light Dragoons, belonging to said County, are duly noticed to hold themselves in readiness to March at a short Notice, and Agreeable to Notice given the Troop, Assembled together at Flower Town in said County, on Monday, the 25th of June [1780], when the Lieutenant had the Satisfaction to find the Troop in General well mounted and Equipt.

"I have the Honor to remain the Councils
Most Obed^{t} Humble Servt.
"Wm. Coats, Lieut. C. P."

"Philada., July 5, 1780."

Immediately after this the Troop was ordered into active service, with the other Philadelphia troops, to

SILHOUETTE OF COLONEL JOHN DOVER
in the possession of his granddaughter,
A. M. Stewart, of Philadelphia

take part in the New Jersey campaign which centered in and around Trenton.[46] During this tour of duty, under its efficient captain, Owen Faries, it was called upon to perform numerous and arduous tasks which were all cheerfully and ably carried out, and that without any compensation, at the time, from the Government. For we learn that throughout this entire period the Troop was compelled to rely for sustenance solely upon its own financial resources, supplemented by the generous liberality of its officers. At a subsequent date an effort was made to secure from the State a remuneration for the funds thus consumed, and there is extant a petition having this object in view, addressed to the Governor of Pennsylvania, couched in the quaint phraseology of the time and characterized by the usual magnificently reckless disregard of the laws of orthography, punctuation and capitalization:—[47]

"June ye 26th, 1781.

"To his Excellency the President & the Honourable Council of the State of Pennsylvania.

"The Philadelphia County Light Horse being sensible of the Respect and Attention that always should be paid to our President, present their Compliments and request that the Expences & Cost that occur'd last year when called to the City of Philadelphia and from thence to Trenton; should be taken into Consideration and that the County Lieutenants should have orders to adjust and pay them of, flattering ourselves with the Hopes of that we marched with cheerfulness and performed with Diligence Every order that was Issued, we have not the least doubt but you are Conscious of the Extravagant prices we paid whilst we lay in the City and of the sums we laid out whilst in the Jersey, as none of the Inhabitants would take no Certificates when we ware sent on Command we beg leave to assure you that there are several more Ex-

penses which we dont charge (tho' paid,) and Cannot at present obtain receipts for. Now that we are called to hold ourselves in readiness at a moments warning we mean to obey with spirit and wish only for our President to Command us.

"Col. Coats has assured us that he lay before your Honorable Body our receipts for the sums we laid out which we requested should be Liquidated.

"Signed in Behalf of the Troop.

"David Snyder, Capten.
Abraham Duffield, Lt.
Casper Dull, Cont."

"Directed,
To His Excellency, Joseph Reed, Esq^{r}., President of Pennsylvania."

This petition elicited the following response:—[48]

"Col. Wm. Coats, Lt. of P^{a} C^{y},

"Sir,

Having received an Account of the Expences of the Philad. Light Horse during the late Tour, I embraced the first opp^{y} to lay the same before the Council, who are disposed to make every reasonable Gratification. As it is the first Time we have had an Application of this Nature & the Account only contains Names & Sums it has been concluded to refer the Account to yourself, Col. [George] Smith, & Col. [William] Dean[49] to liquidate, & after examining the vouchers to report to this Board what Sum will be just and reasonable, having on the one Hand due Regard to the Men & on the other to the publick Interest, in which you will consider that what is now done will on future Occasions be a Precedent, not only to this Troop, but to all others within the State. . . . .

"I am, Sir, with due Esteem
Your Obed. Hbbl. Serv.

"1781, July 12th." "Joseph Reed."

The result of the investigation was as follows:—[50]

"To His Excellency, Joseph Reed, Esq^{r}., President of the State of Pennsylvania.

"Sir,

Agreable to your order from Councill dated July 12th, we have call'd on the Gentlemen of the Troop of Light Horse of the County of Philad^{a}, to produce to us their accounts and Vouchers of their Expenditures when out on the last tour of Duty, and agreable to Notiss given we had a full meeting, when it appear'd that part of the Troop that had done equal duty with the others, had kept no account and had no Vouchers to produce, not expecting to receive any compensation, sixteen of the Troop produced Vouchers, from which we where under the Necessity of Averaging a price to be allowed to each man when on Command by detachment and where no Provision had been maid for their support, and after mature Consideration have agreed that each Person be allowed for two meals ℔ day, one gill of Rum, twelve quarts of Oats and Hay at night for his Horse, the sum of Six Shillings specie the account of the number of Days that each person searv'd with the amount of what appears to us should be paid him accompanies this, which we beg leave to lay before Council, we have the Honour to remain your Exellencies and the Councils most Obedient Humble Servants,

"Wm. Coats, Lieutenant, C.P.
George Smith, Sub. Lieut. C.P.
Wm. Dean, Sub. Lieut. C.P.

"Philad^{a} County Abington, August 18th, 1781."

One week after the receipt of this letter the minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania show the following entry under the date of August 24, 1781:—"An order was drawn on the Treasurer in favor of Captain Snyder, of the Philadelphia County Troop of Light Horse, for the sum of fifty-two pounds

fourteen shillings and six pence, State money, of the seventh of April, 1781, amount of an account of the expenses of the said troop while on command on a late call of militia.'"[51]

The active interest taken by Captain Faries in the cause of the Colonists up to the time of his retirement from the Troop is shown by the following letter written at this time, probably to the Commander of the American forces in the vicinity during the British occupation of Philadelphia:—[52]

"Sir,—The Bearer Mr. Rudy goes With four Deserters which we took up back of Germantown in the Woods concealed. Major Bensell was along with me but we gave up any Claim to the Reward & hope you will pay the four Militiamen who go along four half Joes[53] or the Exchange as it Will be a further Incouragement to the people.

I am Your Most Obedt. Servt.

"Germantown, 7 Oct, 1780." "Owen Ferris."

About a month after the return of the Troop to Philadelphia from the New Jersey campaign Captain Faries was compelled to relinquish his command on account of his removal from his home in Germantown to Philadelphia. His resignation was announced on November 20, 1780, and an election for his successor was held on the morning of December 2d, according to the following public notices:—

"Public Notice[54] is hereby given to the Gentlemen of the Troop of Light Dragoons, of the County of Philadelphia, That it is expected they will meet the Lieutenant of the County on Monday, the 20th instant, at the House of Capt. [Robert] Greggs, late Wright's Tavern, precisely at Eleven o'Clock in the Morning, on Business of Importance.

"William Coats,[55] Lieut. C.P."

"*Philadelphia County, Nov.* 14, 1780."

"PUBLIC NOTICE[56] is hereby given to the Gentlemen of the TROOP of LIGHT HORSE of the County of Philadelphia, that on Saturday the 2d of December next, at Eleven O'Clock in the Morning, at the House of Captain [Robert] Gregs, late Wright's Tavern, An ELECTION will be held for the Choice of a CAPTAIN to command the said Troop, the late Captain having resigned. The Gentlemen are desired to be punctual in their Attendance, and are further Notified (by the unanimous Vote of the Troop at their last Meeting) that no Gentlemen will be allowed a Vote, unless he appears properly uniformed and equipped.

"WM. COATS, Lieut. P.C."

"*Philadelphia County,* November 23, 1780"

David Snyder, the former Second Lieutenant of the Troop, attained the captaincy at this time, while Abraham Duffield was elected to the Lieutenancy.[57]

At this period in the history of the Troop as a military organization there seems to have been in vogue a system of rotation in office which was abolished at a subsequent date. For we find, in 1777, a roster naming Owen Faries (or Farris—the orthography varies) as captain. Three years later, in 1780, Faries is still captain, John Dover holds the first lieutenancy, and David Snyder the second lieutenancy. Toward the close of the same year—1780—Snyder advances to the captaincy, while Faries heads the list of privates, who are designated in the official report as "dragoons." This may have been by special arrangement, however, Faries having been satisfied with the honor of holding the command of the Troop, and, not willing to sever completely his connection with the organization, voluntarily relinquishing the obligations and burdens which necessarily devolves upon the commanding officer, and resuming his place in the rank and file. As far as we know, there are but two other instances of such an

occurrence in the history of the Troop, namely, in the cases of Captain William Rawle, Jr., and Captain Benjamin Say, whose names are included in the rosters of the Troop subsequent to their tenure of office.

The Troop remained at home for a year after the New Jersey campaign. In April, 1781, the following notice appeared:[58]

"PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given, To the GENTLEMEN of the TROOP OF LIGHT HORSE for the county of Philadelphia, that MONDAY, the 21st of May, is appointed for the Troop to meet, at the House of Captain [Robert] GREGS [*sic*], in said County, at Ten o'clock in the morning. It is expected that every Gentleman of the Troop will appear properly Equipt and Accoutred, etc.

"WILLIAM COATS, Lieutenant Philadelphia County."
"April 25, [1781]."

On August 30, 1781, the Troop participated in an escort to General Washington and other distinguished officers who were about to leave the city for the campaign in the South.[59] Immediately following the departure of the American army on September 21st, "it was feared that the unprotected state of the country might tempt the British to make a descent upon Philadelphia from New York." The Pennsylvania militia were, accordingly, ordered to hold themselves in readiness for instant service, as the petition, already quoted, states. A portion of the city and county troops, including the light horse, together with commands from other portions of the State, were ordered to rendezvous at Newtown, Bucks County, and a lookout was also established at Cape May.

John Humphreys was the Quartermaster of the Troop at this time, and there is on record a series of Quartermaster's Reports, signed by him, for rations furnished "Captain David Snyder's Troop of Light Dragoons of Philadelphia County."[60] From these reports, which are here reproduced in full, we learn that

on September 27, 1781, the Troop mustered one captain, one lieutenant, and twenty men in the rank and file. Four days later, on October 1, the roll showed one captain, one lieutenant and thirty-four men in the rank and file. On October 5, it included one captain, one lieutenant, one quartermaster, and thirty-three men in the rank and file; while on October 8, there are noted one captain, one lieutenant, one cornet, one quartermaster, and thirty-four men in the rank and file—a most curious condition of ebullition on troop affairs.

The Quartermaster's Reports for the Newtown campaign are as follows:—

"Provision Return for Capt. David Snyder's M. L. Dragoons, Philada. County

Newtown September 27th, 1781.

"David Snyder, Captain.

Capt.	Lt.	Rank & file.	Rations.	Days.	Total.
1	1	20	22	2	44

"Reced. the above.
John Humphrey, Qr. M."

"Provision Return of Capt. David Snyder M. L. Dragoons

"Nutown September 29th, 1781.

Capt.	Lt.	Rank & file.		for two days.
1	1	20	24	48

David Snyder, Captain

"Recd. forty Eight Rations.
John Humphrey, Q. M."

"Provision Return for Capt. David Snyder T. L. Dragoons.

Newtown October 1th 1781.

Capt.	Lt.	Rank & file.		for two days.
1	1	34	38	76

"David Snyder, Captain.

"Received Seventy Six Rations.
John Humphrey."

"Provision Return of Capt. David Snyders M. L. Dragoons.

Newtown Oct. 3th 1781.

Capt.	Lt.	Rank & file.		for two days.
1	1	34	38	76

"Abrm. Duffield, Lieut."

"Provision Return of Capt. David Snyders M. L. Dragoons.

"Newtown Oct. 5th, 1781.

Capt.	Lt.	Qr. M.	Rank & file.	For days.	e e days Rations.
1	1	1	33	38	114

"Sr. please Issue two Days Rum for the above men.

"By Order of J. Hanna, A. D. C.

"Colo. Crispin.

"David Snyder, Captain.

"Received one hundred and fourteen Rations for three days provisions and two days Rum.

"John Humphrey."

"Provision Return of Capt. David Snyder Light Dragoon Philad'a County Militia.

"Newtown Octo'r 8th, 1781.

Captain.	Lt.	Cornet.	Qr. M.	Rank & file.	for two days.
1	1	1	1	34	78

"David Snyder, Captain.

"Received seventy Eight Rations

"David Davis."

"Provision Return of Capt. David Snyder M. L. Dragoons.

"Oct. 14th, 1781.

Capt.	Lt.	Cornet.	Qr. M.	Rank & file.		
1	1	1	1	31	38	76 for two days.

David Snyder, Capt.

"Received Seventy Six Rations.

"John Humphrey, Q. M."

"Provision Return of Capt. David Snyder's M. L. Dragoons.

"Newtown Oct. 16th, 1781.

Capt.	Lt.	Cornet.	Qr. M.	Rank & file.	
1	1	1	1	31	38 for one day.

"David Snyder, Captain.

"Rec'd thirty Eight Rations.

"John Humphrey, Q. M."

"This is to Certify that Samuel Butcher hat a four Horse waggan to Haul the Baggage for the Troops of Light Dragoons Philad'a County Militia in Imployment for Twenty Two Days.

"Newtown October 16th, 1781.

"David Snyder, Capt."

"To Col. [William] Dean, S. L. C. P."

The camp at Newtown was struck on October 20th, the troops returning to Philadelphia. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis on October 19th virtually ended the war, although the treaty of peace was not signed at Paris until 1783. With the cessation of camp duty the Troop resumed the usual routine of a militia organization. On Saturday, November 3d, 1781, an interesting event occurred. On that day twenty-four stands of British colors, taken at Yorktown, reached Philadelphia and were escorted into town by the local volunteer cavalry including the city and county troops. The trophies were carried down High [Market] street, preceded by the French and American colors and taken to the State House,[61] where they were presented to Congress, then in session, and "laid at their feet."[62]

The usual spring and fall days of exercise, as appointed by the militia law, were carefully observed by the Troop, as is indicated by the following public notices:[63]—

"Philadelphia county, April 3, 1782. NOTICE is hereby given to the TROOP OF LIGHT HORSE that they are

to meet Colonel [Robert] Correy's[64] battalion, on MONDAY the 27th of May; the place of rendezvous will be at the late dwelling of Colonel Archibald Thomson[65] [*sic*], deceased, in Norrington [Norriton] Township:[66] It is expected the troop will attend at eleven o'clock in the morning, properly equipt and accoutered [*sic*]. The fines for non-attendance are as follows: that if any commissioned officer shall neglect or refuse to attend on any of the days appointed for exercise in companies as aforesaid (unless prevented by sickness or some other unavoidable accident,) such commissioned officer shall forfeit and pay the price of three days labour: and any non-commissioned officer or private, and all enrolled persons, so refusing or neglecting (except as before excepted) shall forfeit and pay the price of one and a half day's labour; and on a battalion day, a field officer shall forfeit and pay the price of six days labour, and a commissioned officer under that rank the price of four days labour, and a non-commissioned officer or private, and all enrolled persons, refusing to meet and exercise, the price of two days labour, (excepting as before excepted).

"WILLIAM COATS, lieutenant of Phila. county."

"The TROOP OF LIGHT HORSE are notified[67] to meet TUESDAY, the 26th of November [1782], at 10 o'clock in the morning, at Chestnut-hill, the place of 'rendezvous' of the 7th or Germantown battalion [Colonel Matthew Holgate]: They will be careful to appear properly equipped and accoutred.

"W. COATS, Lt. C. P."

On May 13 of this year [1782] the French minister, Luzerne,[68] formally announced to Congress the birth of the Dauphin of France. On this occasion he was escorted to the State House by the City Light Horse [First City Troop], and was there received by the Continental troops, as well as by the County Troops, and the City Artillery.[69]

Lying, as it did, on the outskirts of the city, the County Troop was compelled to cover much territory in its troop drills and exercises. Germantown, Chestnut Hill, Frankford, Oxford township, Bustleton and other boroughs were the scene of its manœuver, as the following, and other, notices indicate:—

"The TROOP OF LIGHT HORSE of the county of Philadelphia, will please to take notice, that they are to meet, properly equipt and accoutred, on MONDAY the 16th of June next, at 10 o'clock in the morning, at the house of Captain Eckart, at Whitemarsh.

"WM. COATS, Lieutenant P. C."[70]

"Philadelphia County, May 31, 1783."

"PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given to the TROOP OF LIGHT HORSE of the County of Philadelphia to meet on the 20th of Oct., [1783], at Busseltoun [*sic*] to join the First Battalion, commanded by Col. Benjamin M'Veagh.[71]

"WM. COATS, Lieut. of the County of Philadelphia."[72]

"The TROOP OF HORSE will meet the Second Battalion, commanded by Colonel [Matthew] Holgate,[73] the 4th of May, at Germantown.

"WILLIAM COATS,
Lieutenant of the County of Philadelphia."[74]

"April 17, 1784."

"The TROOP OF HORSE will take notice to meet the fifth battalion, commanded by Col. [Matthew] Jones, on FRIDAY the 22d of October [1784], at the place of rendezvous, near the Merion Meeting House, on Lancaster Road.

"WILLIAM COATS,
Lieutenant of the County of Philadelphia."[75]

With the single exception of the voluntary retirement of the Cornet, Casper Dull, no changes are noted in the list of officers of the Troop for some time. Thus, we find, in 1784, "A Return of the Officers of the Troop

of Light Horse of the County of Philadelphia," as follows:—[76]

"David Snyder, Captain.
Abraham Duffield, Lieutenant.
Isaac Humphries [Humphreys], Cornet.

"Philada County, March 9th, 1784.

"WM. COATS, Lieut. C. P."

"Directed,
John Armstrong, Esq. Secretary."

REFERENCES.

[1] *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, pp. 295–6.

[2] *Pennsylvania Packet*, May 1, 1775.

[3] *Pennsylvania Packet*, June 6 and 12, 1775.

[4] The *rangers* were "regular or irregular troops or other armed men, employed in ranging over a region either for its protection or as marauders." Military rangers are generally mounted, but may fight on foot if occasion requires.—*Century Dictionary.*

[5] *Riflemen*, formerly, were men armed with the rifle, when most of infantry carried muskets.

[6] *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. xiii, p. 593; also, Sixth Series, vol. i, p. 979.

[7] *Griffith Jones* was married on October 31, 1760, to *Janet Barr;* and, in Zion Lutheran Church, on December 9, 1774, to *Rebecca Morgan.* On July 24, 1776, he was gunner in the First Company of the Artillery Regiment. In December, 1776, he was a member of Captain Joseph Cowperthwaite's company of the *First Philadelphia Battalion of Militia.* On March 3, 1777, he was appointed by the Navy Board to command the Fire Ship *"Strumbello."* On September 12, 1777, he was appointed Sergeant in the 5th Co., of the Artillery Regiment. He is recorded, in 1777, as a member of Captain Faries *Troop of Horse.* He was a wealthy tanner, residing in Germantown. That he was a man of considerable means is proved by his advertisement in October, 1780, offering "a reward of $4000 for information of persons who have been damaging his property." (*Pennsylvania Packet*, October 28, 1780.) He owned extensive lots on the east side of Front Street between Sassafras [Race] and Vine Streets (*Pennsylvania Packet*, June 19, 1783). In 1791, he is recorded at No. 259 South Third Street, as a house carpenter [builder].

[8] *Simon Bennett*, probably the son of *Abraham Bennett* and *Mary Harrison*, who were married in March, 1749; on August 13, 1777, was appointed a member of the Committee for Lower Dublin township to

drive off the cattle on the approach of the British. On July 3, 1792, he was elected Captain of the County Troop of Horse. His son, *Samuel Bennett*, merchant, of Philadelphia, was married on November 23, 1796, to *Ruth Dobel*, of Bristol. A *John Bennett*, in 1794, was a private in the 3d Company, 4th Regiment Phila. City Militia, Col. Andrew Guyer.

[9] *George Haas*, of the Northern Liberties, was married in Zion Lutheran Church, on April 5, 1768, to *Margaret Hagin*. He died on December 1, 1811, leaving an estate of $4000, for which letters of administration were granted to *Zachariah Bowman*. His grandson, *George Haas*, (born in 1823), died on October 24, 1849, at his home, Meeting House Lane, Germantown, in his 27th year.

[10] *William Priest* [probably the correct spelling], died on February 20, 1791, intestate, and letters of administration were granted to *Mary Lodge*. A *William H. Priest* was living in Philadelphia in 1844.

[11] *Jacob Benner, Sr.*, in 1786, lived in New Street near Third, and, in May, 1786, he and his son, *Jacob Benner, Jr.*, mariner, were executors for *George Benner*, brother of Jacob Benner, Sr. In 1788, *Jacob Benner, Sr.*, lived in Bustleton, in the township of Lower Dublin. In 1791, he is recorded as a brickmaker at No. 72 Elm Street. He died on September 22, 1793, leaving a son, *Jacob Benner, Jr.* In 1785, a priate in the Sixth Company, 4th Battalion, Col. William Wills; married, on July 4, 1790, in Zion Lutheran Church, to *Margaretta Bartils*), and three daughters—*Margaret*, *Elizabeth*, and *Sophia*—one of whom was married to *Peter Rees*. His widow *Mary Benner*, died in 1828. A *Sarah Benner*, widow of *Jacob Benner*, was born in 1760, and died at her residence, Spruce Street above Thirteenth, on June 2, 1840, in her 80th year.

[12] *Samuel Neswanger* (*Neaswinger*), of Lower Dublin township, Philadelphia County, was one of a Committee appointed, on July 12, 1777, for Oxford, Lower Dublin, Moreland and Byberry townships, to drive off the live stock as soon as the British should appear. He owned a water gristmill in Lower Dublin. His will was made in 1798; and he died in 1805, leaving a son, *Samuel Neswanger, Jr.*, (died June 6, 1824), who was always an invalid; a daughter, *Ann* (wife of *George Sommers*), and a daughter, *Elizabeth* (wife of *Enoch Addis*).

[13] *Jacob Gross* died about June 20, 1809, letters of administration being granted to *Dorothy Gross*, and security being given by *George Gross*, *Jacob Gross* and *John Gross*, cordwainers.

[14] *Andrew Keen*, son of *Daniel Keen* (born in Oxford township, Philadelphia County, in 1722–23) and *Elizabeth McCarty* (married January 6, 1751-2), was born, in Philadelphia, August 6, 1752, and baptized at Trinity Church in February, 1753. From July 14,1776, to February, 1777, he was a private in Captain Rudolph's Neff's company of Colonel Robert Lewis J. Deane's Regiment of Foot.. In September, 1777, he joined the cavalry, in Captain James Craig's troop, and then the Troop of Horse commanded by Captain Fearis [Faries], in which organization he remained until the middle of July, 1778. He was subsequently called out twice, serving several weeks each time. On April 8, 1777,

he was married, in Old Swedes' Church, to *Margaret Toy* (born January 22, 1756; died in Philadelphia, March 6, 1839, aged 83 years), daughter of *Elias and Barbara Toy*, her father being a descendant of *Elias Toy*, a Swede of New Jersey, who was born in October, 1664, and his wife, *Gertrude Nelson* (born in 1671; married in February, 1690). A personal communication from Andrew Keen's great-granddaughter, *Mrs. B. S. Banks*, of Philadelphia, states that "he fought in the battles of Monmouth, Trenton, Assanpink Creek, and Princeton, and in the skirmish near Holmesburg. He served with the rank of Major on the staff of General Washington, and was present at the crossing of the Delaware. He also witnessed the execution of Major Andre." He died, in Philadelphia, on August 3, 1838, aged 87 years.—*Gregory B. Keen*, "The Descendants of Jören Kyn, the Founder of Upland."

[15] *Jonathan Leech*, yeoman, of Lower Dublin township, Philadelphia County, died in May, 1825. He was unmarrried, and left his estate to his sisters, *Hannah*, wife of *Malachi Fisher*, and *Rebecca*, wife of *George Yerkes*. His will was made on February 28, 1811.

[16] Henry Miller, baker and shopkeeper of the city and county of Philadelphia, died shortly after October 26, 1802 (the date of his will), leaving his estate to his wife, *Mary Miller* (late *Steelman*). On April 15, 1786, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Capt. Christian Shaffer's Fourth Company, Fourth Battalion, Col. John Shee, His brother was *Christian Miller*.

[17] *John Trocksell*, [*Troxel or Troxsell*], in 1777, was Second Lieutenant in the First Company, Fourth Battalion, Philadelphia County Associators. On October 1, 1778, he was a private in the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[18] *Christian Steer* was naturalized in Upper Milford, Bucks County Pa., on September 18, 1763.

[19] *Isaac Humphreys* and *John Humphreys* were probably sons of *Jonathan Humphreys* and *Sarah Doughty*, and brothers of *Jacob Humphreys* (born in Bucks County, Pa., in 1751; married at the Haverford Meeting house, on July 13, 1773, to *Sarah James;* Captain in the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment on February 15, 1777; claiming rank from September 8, 1776; engaged in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown and Yorktown, serving in the Southern campaign; transferred, on January 1, 1783, to the First Pennsylvania Regiment, and serving to June 3, 1783; resided subsequently in West Fallowfield, Chester County, Pa.; elected to the Legislature in 1814–15; in July 1825, one of the County Commissioners to receive General Lafayette; died January 21, 1826, aged 75 years) and *Whitehead Humphreys* (born March 20, 1733–34; died September 3, 1786). steelmaker and distiller; and grandsons of *Daniel Humphreys* and *Hannah Wynne*. *Isaac Humphreys* was born in Bucks County, Pa., and was married in old Swedes' Church, on January 18, 1780, to Jane Brown. In 1781, he was appointed Collector of Taxes for Upper Dublin Township.

[20] *Thomas Vanderslice's* son, *Henry Vanderslice*, was married, in St. Michael's and Zion Church, on November 28, 1798, to *Else Price* (*Alice Preish*), widow.

[21] *Robert Gregg* married *Jennett O'Neal* on September 25, 1765. In October, 1775, he was Second Lieutenant in Wayne's Fourth Battalion. On January 8, 1776, he was again commissioned Second Lieutenant in the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion; and, on January 1, 1777, attained the rank of First Lieutenant. On June 7, 1777, he was commissioned Captain in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment, retiring on July 1, 1778. He became the proprietor of an inn in the County of Philadelphia in 1780, which was formerly known as *Wright's Tavern.* (It was at this Tavern that David Snyder, in 1780, was elected to the command of the Second City Troop.) On June 17, 1790, he is recorded as living in Upper Makefield Township, Bucks County, four miles from Newtown (*Pennsylvania Packet*, June 17, 1790).

[22] *John Nice* [*de Neus*], son of *John Nice* (died in March, 1794; his will was made on March 12, 1793), who, on October 30, 1767, married his second wife *Margaret Coffin*; was born in Germantown, January 29, 1739, and died there on July 5 (September 26), 1806, aged 67 years. In May, 1760, he was commissioned an Ensign in the 7th Co., of the Pennsylvania Regiment by Governor (Colonel) John Penn; and in September, 1763, Governor James Hamilton commissioned him a Captain in the colonial service. In 1772, he married *Sarah*, daughter of Colonel *Jacob Engle* (born in 1727; died on Wednesday, February 20, 1799, in his 72d year), of Germantown, who survived him, and by her had five children—*James, Mary, Ann, Washington, and Levi.* On March 15, 1776, when 37 years old, he was appointed a Captain in a battalion of musketmen in Colonel Samuel Miles' Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, which was attached to the Flying Camp. He was, together with Colonel Miles and his regiment, captured by the British at the battle of Long Island on August 27, 1776 (*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 331), but was exchanged on December 9, 1776, and became, in 1777, a member of Captain Faries' Troop of Horse. On November 12, 1777, he was transferred to the Pennsylvania State Regiment designated the "13th Pennsylvania;" on July 1, 1778, was transferred to the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment; and, on January 17, 1781, to the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, and served to June, 1783. He participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. In March, 1782, he joined with Captains Schneider [Snyder] and [Robert] Erwin in charges before the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania of certain abuses and irregularities at the last general election for the County." On January 15, 1785, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Philadelphia County, Germantown and Roxborough townships, which office he resigned on April 3, 1786. In October, 1786, he ran for Representative of the County in the Assembly. In June, 1787, he offered for sale his "valuable plantation situate in Bristol township, Philadelphia County, near the Old York Road, about seven miles from the city," containing 90 acres of land. He resigned as Major of the Second Battalion of Philadelphia County Militia in April, 1787, to which office he had been elected in April, 1786. He was a member of

the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, as was also his son, *James*, and his grandson, *Levi*.

[23] *John Humphreys* [*Humphrey*], on August 2, 1779, was an Ensign in Lee's Battalion of Light Dragoons; on August 25, 1779, was transferred to the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment; and on July 17, 1781, to the Second Pennsylvania Regiment. In 1777, he became a member of Captain Faries' Troop of Horse, and, in 1781, acted as Quartermaster of the Troop. On April 2, 1782, he became a Second Lieutenant in the Fourth Regiment of Continental Artillery, serving until June 17, 1783. In 1814, he is recorded as a merchant at No. 14 North Seventh Street.

[24] *Jacob Markley*, on May 6, 1777, was commissioned Major in the First Battalion, Philadelphia County Associators. He died on October 9, 1821, leaving an estate valued at $19,000. Letters of administration were granted to *John Markley*, *Philip Markley*, and *Jacob Markley, Jr.* His son's wife *Rachel* (born in 1794), died on April 19, 1850, leaving her husband and two sons, *Simon S. Markley* and *Jacob Markley, Jr.* She was buried at New Villa, Warrington township, Bucks County, Pa. Her son, *Jacob Markley, Jr.*, was married on June 27, 1850, to *Hannah S. Miller*, of Warrington, Bucks County.

[25] *Jacob Wollery* [*Woolery*] was related to *Weckerly Woolery*, who, in 1778, lived in Springfield, Philadelphia County.

[26] *Josiah Pawling* was the son of *Henry Pawling*, who, in 1770, was nominated for the Pennsylvania Assembly, and, in 1776, was Captain in the Flying Camp. His brother, *Henry Pawling, Jr.*, after the Revolution was very influential in building up Norristown, Pa. On September 9, 1777, *Josiah Pawling* married *Ann Sturgess*. On August 7, 1780, he is still recorded as a member of the Troop of Horse and attached to the Third Battalion County Militia. In 1784, he was a private in the Second Company, Second Philadelphia Regiment, Colonel James Reed; and, in 1785, in the Third Company, First Philadelphia Regiment, Colonel John Shee.

[27] *Nathaniel Vansandt*, of Bensalem, Philadelphia County, was married to *Hannah Vansandt* on August 27, 1768. During the Revolution he served, from August 19, 1775, as First Lieutenant in the First Battalion of Bucks County Associators; and for a time as Captain in Colonel Miles' Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, and was with the Regiment when it was captured at the battle of Long Island, November 16, 1776. He was exchanged on November 20, 1778. He was related to James Vansandt, who, on October 12, 1784, was elected Representative for the County.

[28] *Jacob Funk* lived in the Northern Liberties on Germantown Road. In October, 1775, he was an Ensign in Wayne's Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion. He was recommissioned on January 8, 1776; and, on January 10, 1777, was made a Cornet in the Fourth Continental Dragoons. Later that year he was a member of Captain Faries' Troop of Horse. In 1779, he was an innkeeper in Second Street. His son, *James Funk, Sr.*, was born in 1792, and died on May 2, 1839, at his home in German-

town Road, west side, the first house above Laurel Street, aged 47 years. He had a son, *James Funk, Jr.*, and another son, *John C. Funk*, who died in infancy on August 16, 1839.

[20] *Benjamin Wotton* was doubtless a descendant of *Faith Wotten*, who arrived in Pennsylvania on December 16, 1685, in the ship "Unicorn," from Bristol, England, Thomas Cooper, Master.

[20] *Josiah Matlack* was the son of *Josiah Matlack*, of Lower Dublin township, who, in 1777, was a private and then an Ensign in the Third Company, Second Battalion Philadelphia Associators; in 1778, was a merchant in Fourth Street near Spruce; took the oath of allegiance to the State on July 9, 1778; in October, 1778, as a Grand Juror, signed a petition for clemency for John Roberts and Abraham Carlisle under sentence of death for high treason; and died in 1791, his will being made on May 2, 1788. His son *Josiah Matlack*, took the oath of allegiance to the State on January 6, 1779, in 1784, was a private in the Fourth Company, Sixth Battalion, Colonel Joseph Dean; in 1787, was a private in the Third Company, First Philadelphia Battalion, Colonel Gurney; in 1793 was executor for the estate of Reuben Haines; and, in 1794, is recorded as a "gentleman" living at No. 51 Spruce Street. The same year, 1794 he is recorded as a private in the First Company, Third Philadelphia Regiment, Colonel McLean. He also owned a large plantation in Lower Dublin township which had been bequeathed to him by his father. He had a sister, *Rachel*, and another sister, *Martha*, who was the wife of *Jonathan Enoch*. On May 31, 1800, *Ann Matlack*, daughter of *Josiah Matlack, Jr.*, was married to *William Smith*, merchant, of Philadelphia.

[21] *David Davis*, yeoman, of Roxborough township, Philadelphia County, was the son of *Enoch Davis*, and nephew of *David Davis*, of Merion, Philadelphia County, who died on July 20, 1768. In 1777, *David Davis* was commissioned First Lieutenant in Colonel William Coats' County Battalion. In 1778, he lived in New Britain township, Bucks County, Pa. In 1779, he signed a petition to the Supreme Executive Council for relief for the county from famine. In July, 1780, he was sent to Reading, Pa., to secure cattle and sheep for the troops. He was a member of the Troop of Light Horse of Philadelphia County for a number of years, and, in October, 1781, was for a time Acting Quartermaster of the Troop in the place of John Humphreys, while at Newtown, Pa. His brothers were:—*Israel* (born in 1758; died in Chester County, Pa., August 10, 1832, aged 73 years); *Anthony; Enoch;* and *Mordecai*. He died on December 25, 1822, leaving a wife, *Elizabeth*, and the following children:—*Matthew; James; Elizabeth; Deborah; George; William; Sarah;* and *Eleanor*. A son, *Benjamin*, and a daughter, *Ann Beard*, predeceased him.

[22] *Isaac Keen*, who resided in Tacony, was the son of *Matthias Keen* (born December 21, 1721; died July 28, 1797) and *Margaret Thomas* (born February 20, 1723; died August 7, 1801), and was born on September 19, 1753. He was greatly favored by his father, who gave him a large fortune during his lifetime and bequeathed him his estate

in Oxford township. He married *Sarah* (born January 11, 1756; died September 8, 1831), daughter of *John Knowles* (who was Lieutenant of the "Independent Company of Foot," in 1756, and who, in the Revolutionary War, was made prisoner by the British, in 1778, and taken to New York, but soon afterwards was exchanged for a loyalist of Horsham township; he was commissioned a Justice of Peace for Philadelphia County on June 6, 1777, and continued to hold that office until his resignation on February 16, 1786). His mother was *Mary Wilkinson.* Isaac Keen, in April, 1786, was elected Cornet of the Troop. He died in Oxford township, February 20, 1808, aged 55 years, and was buried in Pennypack Baptist Churchyard. He had seven children.—Gregory B. Keen, "The Descendants of Jöran Kyn, the Founder of Upland."

[83] *Edward Duffield* was the brother of *Abraham* and son of *Jacob Duffield* (born in 1724; died October 16, 1774) and *Hannah Leech* (born July 29, 1723; died October 8, 1793). He was born May 28, 1759, and died July 16, 1824, when 65 years old. In 1777, he was an Ensign in the Second Company of the City (First) Battalion, Colonel William Bradford. He was a bachelor, and lived with his brother in Frankford. He was Auditor on the American Republican ticket for the County of Philadelphia in 1809, but was not elected. He was a "gentleman of the old school." Upon his death, the old homestead was bought by *John Murray.*

[84] *Thomas Chappel,* yeoman, of Moreland township, Philadelphia County, was the son of *John Chappel* (died May 16, 1775) and his second wife, *Martha Duffell* [*Duffield*], of Oxford township, who were married on September 29, 1757, (*John's* first wife, *Mary,* died December 31, 1753); and brother of *Mary* (married *Charles Meredith*), *Elizabeth* (married *James Miller*), and *Esther Chappel.* His father, *John Chappel,* kept the *"Black Bull Tavern,"* in Market Street, some time prior to the Revolution. *Thomas Chappel* was born in February, 1759. In September, 1778, he was, with his brother *William,* a private in Captain Jacob Stake's Company of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, and was subsequently detached to the light corps. He took the oath of allegiance to the State on June 22, 1779. On July 3, 1792, he was elected Captain of the Third Company, Second Philadelphia County Battalion, Colonel Isaac Worrell; and on July 28, 1794, Captain of the Second Company, Fifth County Regiment. He served in the Whiskey Insurrection. He died on August 1, 1848, aged 89 years. His wife was *Mary Chappel,* and his children were *Charles; George; William; John; Thomas; Catherine* (married a Mr. Wiser); *Hester* (married *George Knowles*); and *Eliza* (married *Joseph Carson*).

[85] *George Benner,* brickmaker, was a relative of *George Benner* of the Troop. In December, 1776, he was a member of Captain John Williams' Company of the First Battalion of Philadelphia Associators, Colonel Jacob Morgan. In 1779, he owned a plantation in Bristol township, Philadelphia County, and a brickyard on Hickory Lane, in the Northern Liberties. He died in 1785 at his dwelling near Vine Street, between Second and Third Streets. His executors were *Jacob Benner* and *Jacob*

Benner, Jr. George Benner, of the Troop, recorded in 1794 as a carter at No. 483 North Second Street, in the Northern Liberties, was the son of *George Benner* (died May 2, 1809, far advanced in years), of Moreland township, Philadelphia County, and *Mary*, his wife. His brothers were:—*Jacob* (who had a son *Jacob*); *Peter* (who had a son *George*); *John;* and *Henry;* and his sisters were *Elizabeth* (wife of *Sereck Fox*—their daughter, *Maria Fox*, married Captain *John Bavington*, of the Second City Troop); and *Mary Benner*. He died on July 20, 1816, leaving a wife, *Mary;* three sons—*George; John;* and *Jacob;* and three daughters—*Ann; Hannah;* and *Mary*. On January 5, 1843, *Janette*, daughter of the eldest son, *George*, was married to *Quintin Campbell, Jr.*, of Philadelphia County.

[36] *John Bruner* was the son of *David Bruner*, of Montgomery, Philadelphia County, and grandson of *John Bruner*, yeoman, who died May 22, 1773, far advanced in years.

[37] *Samuel Boucher* [*Butcher*] was the son of *George Dietrich Bucher*, who, in 1778, lived in New Hanover township, Philadelphia County. That year, *Samuel Boucher*, assistant weighmaster, lived in Moreland Manor, Philadelphia County. They were descendants of *John Boutcher*, who died in Moreland township, in 1707, leaving two sons, *John* and *Samuel*, and several daughters, one of whom, *Sarah*, married *Henry*, son of *Francis Daniel Pastorius*, in 1720. *Samuel Boucher*, of the Northern Liberties, took the oath of allegiance to the State on July 5, 1777; was a member of Captain Faries' Troop of Horse that year; is recorded as being with the Troop at Newtown in October, 1781; and continued with that body until 1782 at least. In the records of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, on October 4, 1781, there is an "order in favor of Mr. Samuel Boutcher for 64 pounds 10 shillings, State money emitted by Act of Assembly of the 7th of April, 1781, amount of his account for the hire of waggons called into service from the County of Philadelphia in August, 1780, agreeably to requisitions of Congress." In 1788, *John* and *Samuel Boutcher* [brothers], offered for sale their "plantation in Moorland, chiefly in Philadelphia County, 100 acres or upwards." On May 28, 1788, *Samuel Butcher* married *Mary Highbee*. He died on May 5, 1797, letters of administration being granted to *Jesse Butcher*.

[38] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 12, 1780, p. 1, c. 2.

[39] *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 8, 1777.

[40] *Pennsylvania Archives*. Edited by Samuel Hazard, 1854; vol. viii, p. 229.

[41] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 31, 1780, p. 1, c. 1. Also *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 410.

[42] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 31, 1780.

[43] *Pennsylvania Archives*, Sixth Series, vol. i, pp. 971, 979 and 985; also, Second Series, vol. xiii, p. 759.

[44] *John Dover*, a descendant of *Richard Dover* (died April 6, 1732), who was the son of *Thomas Dover*, was the son of *William Dover* (died before 1778), who left an estate in Oxford township, Frank-

ford. *John Dover* was born in 1754. He was appointed an Ensign in Wayne's Fourth Battalion in October, 1775; on January 8, 1776, became Ensign in the Third Pennsylvania Battalion; and on January 3, 1777, became First Lieutenant in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. In 1780, he became First Lieutenant in Captain Faries' Troop of Horse. He subsequently attained the rank of Colonel in the Philadelphia Militia. In 1785, he kept the old Rising Sun Tavern, on the Germantown Road, four miles from Philadelphia. In 1799–1800, he was proprietor of a tavern at Frankford (*American Daily Advertiser*, February 11, 1800), in the village of Aramingo, on "the King's Highway" [Frankford Avenue], just south of the Frankford Creek. He was a member of the Committee of Arrangements appointed January 8, 1801, to commemorate March 4, 1801, as a day of public festivity in celebration of the success of Democratic principles (*Scharf and Westcott*, vol i, p. 507). He was married first, on September 3, 1782, to *Mary Nice;* secondly, on March 4, 1797, to *Sarah Cooper.* Subsequently, he married *Letitia Stewart*, of the Northern Liberties. He died at his home near Frankford on Sunday, March 18, 1821, in his 67th year, his will being probated on April 8th of that year. He was interred in the Presbyterian burying-ground at Aramingo. Letters of administration were granted to Alexander Martin, and Nathan Harper and Stacey Gillingham, tanner, of Frankford, were surety for the executors. His son, *Joseph Dover*, a silver plater, was born in 1794, and died in Cohocksink village on October 28, 1838, aged 44 years. His daughter, *Sarah*, who was married on September 20, 1807, to *Thomas Collings*, died at Summerville, New Jersey, on September 9, 1839; and another daughter, *Anne*, married *Moses Thomas* on October 10, 1811. John Dover's brother, *Frederick Dover*, coachmaker, of the Northern Liberties, died on March 10, 1806, leaving a wife, *Elizabeth.* Another brother, *Andrew Dover*, of Germantown, was born in 1751; and, in October, 1775, was Second Lieutenant in Colonel Wayne's Fourth Battalion. He was commissioned second Lieutenant in Captain John Miller's Company of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel Magaw, on January 8, 1776; on March 4, 1776, was promoted to First Lieutenant; was taken prisoner at Fort Washington on November 16, 1776; was reelected First Lieutenant on March 4, 1777; and promoted to Captain on June 1, 1778; and was exchanged on October 25, 1780. In 1794, he lived in Oxford Township, upper end of Frankford, opposite the "Seven Stars." He died near Frankford on February 27, 1832, in his 81st year, letters of administration being granted to *William Dover.* His daughter, *Charlotte Cecilia*, was married on November 13, 1831, to *Dr. Dempsey Murray Veale.* A *Levi Dover* was a private in Captain *T. W. Duffield's* company of *Frankford Artillery* at Camp Dupont in 1814.

[45] *Pennsylvania Archives.* Edited by Samuel Hazard, 1854; vol. ix, p. 250.

[46] The camp at Trenton was formed July 28, 1780, and abandoned on September 2, when the projected attack upon New York was given up. It was commanded in person by President Reed (*Scharf and Westcott*,

vol. i, p. 411). The militia returned to Philadelphia on September 3, "Extract from the *Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer* of Philadelphia, 1765–1798." Edited by John W. Jordan, 1893, Philadelphia. Press of Wm. F. Fell & Co.

[47] *Pennsylvania Archives.* Edited by Samuel Hazard, 1854; vol. ix, p. 230.

[48] Ibid, vol. ix, p. 272.

[49] *William Dean* was born in 1741, and died in Montgomery County, Pa., on Saturday morning, September 12, 1807, in his 67th year. He was commissioned Colonel of the Fourth Battalion, Philadelphia County Militia on May 6, 1777.

[50] *Pennsylvania Archives.* Edited by Samuel Hazard, 1854; vol. ix, p. 358.

[51] *Colonial Records of Pa.*, vol. xiii, p. 37.

[52] From the Wm. Henry Manuscripts collected by John Jordan, Jr.

[53] A *joe* was a Portuguese and Brazilian gold coin of the period worth $8.62. In 1778, this coin was selling at £22, 10s. Continental currency. A *half Joe or Johannis* was a gold coin of Portugal then current in commercial use.

[54] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* November 15, 1780, p. 3, col. 3.

[55] The *Coats* family of Philadelphia is descended from the four brothers —*William* (died in 1749, leaving a widow, *Rachel*), *Thomas, George* and *John*—who came to this country early in the eighteenth century. There was a *William Coats, Jr.*, a brickmaker, who also died on April 1, 1749, leaving a widow, *Mary*, a minor son, *William*, and a daughter, *Mary*. The father of *William Coats*, of this history, was *Major William Coats*, an extensive landowner in the township of the Northern Liberties, County of Philadelphia, where he was born in 1721. He received his education in the Friends' School. In 1748, he was Second Lieutenant in the Third Company of the Associators' Regiment of Philadelphia County. On May 1, 1756, he became an original member and Secretary of the *Northern Liberty Fire Company*. He subsequently became a Major in the Provincial Militia. He must have been twice married, taking his second wife, *Martha Davis* (born February 11, 1738; died July 17, 1795), on October 9, 1764. In 1774, he was a member of the Committee of Correspondence of Philadelphia; and, on January 23, 1775, was a delegate to the Provincial Conference. In 1775, he served on the Committee of Inspection for the Northern Liberties. On June 28, 1775, he was a delegate to the conference at Carpenter's Hall. [The *Carpenter's Company* of Philadelphia was organized in 1724, and for many years exerted a wide influence upon contemporaneous happenings. The famous *Carpenter's Hall*, where the First Continental Congress held its sessions, was built in 1771, upon land fronting on Chestnut Street below Fourth Street, which was purchased in 1768. For several years it was occupied as the first *Bank of the United States*, and later—in August, 1798—by the *Pennsylvania Bank*.] On July 15, 1776, he was a member of the convention in Carpenters' Hall. He

saw active service in the Revolution, and participated in the battle of Princeton. In 1777, he became a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. On February 4, 1778, he was captured by the British and confined in the jail in Philadelphia until exchanged in 1779. This year he was reëlected to the Pennsylvania Assembly, but died in Philadelphia on January 24, 1780.

His son, *Colonel William Coats*, was born in Philadelphia sometime about 1750. Not much is known of his early life save that he married *Margaret*, daughter of *Thomas Norris*, of Princeton, New Jersey. On June 30, 1775, he was commissioned Second Major of the First Battalion of Associators of Philadelphia, and became First Major in 1776. On December 4, 1776, he was commissioned Lieut.-Colonel of the First Battalion of the City Militia; and from March 12, 1777, to 1785, he served as Lieutenant of Philadelphia County, with Colonel William Dean, Colonel George Smith and others as Sub-Lieutenant. On September 10, 1778, William Coats, saddler, took the oath of allegiance to the State. In October, 1778, he signed a petition for clemency for John Roberts and Abraham Carlisle, under sentence of death for high treason. In October, 1779, he was Colonel of the Third Battalion, Philadelphia County Militia. On October 12, 1784, he was elected a Representative in the Assembly for Philadelphia County; and, on August 20, 1788, he was elected a magistrate, or Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, for the Northern Liberties, in place of William Masters, deceased. On September 1, 1791, he was commissioned again as Justice of the Peace in the Northern Liberties. On July 4, 1793 he was elected first Vice-President of the *Democratic Society of Pennsylvania* (The first Democratic Society in the United States). From 1787 to 1794, he served as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventh Battalion of Militia of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia. On September 12, 1794, he was commissioned Lieut-Colonel of the First Philadelphia County Regiment, and immediately transferred to the command of the Fourth County Regiment; and from 1799 to 1802, he was Lieut.-Colonel of the 88th Regiment of Pennsylvania Militia. On March 4, 1801, he was a member of the Committee of Arrangements to celebrate Democratic success. He was also a member of the Tammany Society. He died in his mansion on Front Street, Northern Liberties, on April 28, 1802, and was accorded a military funeral. His daughter, *Elizabeth*, was married, on April 20, 1780, to *Anthony Butler*, merchant. They were the grand-parents of General *George Gordon Meade*. Coates Street [now Fairmount Avenue] was named for the Coats family.

[56] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 29, 1780, p. 3, col. 3.

[57] *Pennsylvania Archives*. Edited by Samuel Hazard, 1854, vol. ix, p. 230.

[58] *Pennsylvania Packet*, April 28, 1781.

[59] *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 415.

[60] *Pennsylvania Archives*, Sixth Series, vol. i, pp. 973 *et seq.*

[61] *Independence Hall*, Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets, south side, was built during the years 1729-34, and, in October, 1735, was first used as a "State House." From 1775 to 1800, it was used by the Colonial Congress, and by the State Legislature until 1804. The Declaration of Independence was issued from the Hall on July 4, 1776, and the Constitution of the United States was adopted there in 1787. The old "Liberty Bell" closely identified with the birth of the Government, was taken from the tower of Independence Hall to Allentown, Pa., in 1778, to prevent its falling into the hands of the British. It was brought back in 1782, and for fifty years, until it cracked, it celebrated every National anniversary. From 1790 to 1800, the State House served as the Capitol of the Nation. In the building at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, then known as "Congress Hall," the first senate and first House of Representatives of the United States met, and here Washington was inaugurated President on March 4, 1793, and John Adams in 1797. This building has also been used for United States and District Courts, and almost all kinds of legal tribunals have at different times been accommodated within its walls. In 1854, when the city proper was consolidated with all the outlying towns and districts in Philadelphia County, the municipal government determined upon using the State House itself, and gave notice to the United States Courts to remove from the second story. From that time until March, 1895, City Councils occupied the second floor—the East chamber over Independence Hall by Select Council and the West Chamber by Common Council. Since 1895, the old State House has been restored to its original condition, and is now occupied by the "Daughters of the Revolution." The site of Congress Hall was occupied, before the Revolution, by a wooden shelter for visiting Indians.

[62] *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 416.

[63] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 24, 1782, p. 1, c. 1.

[64] *Robert Correy* was a Philadelphia merchant and shipping-agent, having his store, in 1782, in Third Street three doors from Market Street, and in 1789, in Water Street near Walnut. His pasture was in the District of Moyamensing. On May 6, 1777, he was commissioned Colonel of the *Fifth Battalion*, Philadelphia County Militia. He took the oath of allegiance to the State on October 6, 1778. On May 12, 1780, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixth Battalion of the County Associators; in 1783, he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixth Battalion of Montgomery County; and, in April, 1786, Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Battalion of Montgomery County.

[65] *Archibald Thompson*, grandson of *Archibald Thompson* (who, on March 23, 1742, purchased 126½ acres of land from the Samuel Norris Estate), was a member of the famous Committee of Correspondence for Philadelphia City and County in 1775. On July 13, 1776, he was appointed Captain in the Flying Camp; on March 12, 1777, he was appointed a Sub-Lieutenant of Philadelphia County; on May 6, 1777, was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Battalion of Militia

for Philadelphia County [the members of this Battalion coming from White Marsh, Plymouth, Whitpain, Norrington, Worcester and New Providence]. On October 21, 1777, and again on May 6, 1778, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Philadelphia County to carry into effect the Confiscation Act of the Council of Safety of the Pennsylvania Assembly. He was appointed Lieutenant of Philadelphia County on February 18, 1778. In August, 1778, he was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and was again elected a Representative for the County of Philadelphia on October 15, 1779. He died on November 1, 1779, at his home at Norriton township. He built the famous old inn, now known as the *Jeffersonville Hotel* (which is located at the foot of Egypt Road and the Ridge Pike, about five miles above Norristown), in 1765, and after his death his widow, *Hannah Bartholomew Thompson*, to whom he was married on June 4, 1766, continued the business and made the inn famous. It was known as the *"Sign of Jefferson"* in 1803, and the village became known as Jeffersonville. Colonel Thompson's son, *Robert*, was born in 1767. Another son, *Archibald*, was married, on October 15, 1781, to *Elizabeth Wilson*. In 1794, he was a private in the Second Company, Fourth Regiment Philadelphia Militia, Colonel Andrew Guyer, and served in the Whiskey Insurrection.

[66] The region where Norristown, Montgomery County, is now situated.

[67] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 6, 1782. p. 2, col. 3.

[68] *Chevalier de la Luzerne* succeeded M. Gérard as Minister from France to the United States. He landed at Boston, August 2, 1779, and served for four years.

[69] *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 420.

[70] *Pennsylvania Packet*, May 31, 1783.

[71] *Benjamin McVey* [*McVeagh or McVaugh*], son of *James McVaugh* and *Rebecca Worrell* (married November 1, 1744), was born in 1748. He was married, in Christ Church, on December 24, 1772, to *Pavnel Humphreyville*. In May, 1777, he was Colonel of the Third County Battalion; on November 24, 1777, he was Colonel of the First Battalion, Philadelphia County Militia; in 1780, he commanded the Second Battalion; and, again in 1784–86, he was Colonel of the First County Battalion. He took the oath of allegiance to the State on April 6, 1779. In 1782, he was a candidate for the office of Sheriff of the County. He was the proprietor of a large three-storied stone tavern in Frankford, at the time of his death. He died there on Friday evening, September 8, 1786, in his 39th year, and was interred in the Friends' burying ground in Frankford.

[72] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 1, 1783.

[73] *Matthew Holgate* was descended from *Matthew Holdgate*, who, with his daughter *Mary*, came to Philadelphia on August 31, 1685. In 1776, he was a Second Lieutenant in the Flying Camp; and, in November, 1778, was Captain of a Company in the Second Battalion of Philadelphia County Associators. He took the oath of allegiance to the

State on March 27, 1779; and was commissioned Lieut.-Colonel of the Seventh County [or Germantown] Battalion on July 31, 1779. He was succeeded by Lieut.-Colonel *Thomas Durgan* on April 23, 1786; at that time he became Lieut.-Colonel of the Second Battalion of Montgomery County, Pa. On May 6, 1786, he became one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas for the same county. He died in Germantown on March 1 to 8, 1788

[74] *Pennsylvania Packet*, April 17, 1784.

[75] Ibid, September 24, 1784.

[76] *Pennsylvania Archives.* Edited by Samuel Hazard, 1854; vol. x, p. 218.

(To be continued.)

AMERICA'S FIRST BATHTUB.

BY GEORGE A. REID

Seven feet long, four feet wide, built of mahogany, and weighing seventeen hundred and fifty pounds—this was America's first bathtub. It was so heavy that the floor of the room in which it stood had to be reenforced and strengthened. It was designed by its owner, Adam Thompson, of Cincinnati, and made by a local cabinetmaker. It created a violent discussion in the Cincinnati papers as to whether it was dangerous to health, many doctors affirming that "it invited rheumatic fever, phthisic, and inflammation of the lungs."

Adam Thompson, the designer, was a rich grain and cotton dealer, who got his idea abroad, says H. L. Mencken, in his account of the man and his inventions. While he was in London he learned that the Prime Minister had a bathtub in his home—a "glorified dish pan," it was called. Thus Thompson came home with a new idea, and started to put it into practical form. This was in 1842.

Modern plumbing being unknown at that time, he who would have a tank of this kind in his house must put a hand pump into his well. In fact, practically all houses had wells or cisterns of their own. Thomson's next thought was for the tub itself. It must be of wood, of course. He built a cypress tank in the garret. So large was it that it took six negroes to keep it pumped full. But at its best, unheated bath water afforded rather cool comfort, so the tub maker, being ahead of his age in more respects than one, set about supplying heat. He rigged a coil of pipes in the chimney, so that heat from the large grate fires warmed the water.

On December 20, 1842, Thompson had a party of gentlemen to dinner, and boasted so of his bathtub that four of them, including a French officer, tried it for themselves. Next day the story was in the papers, and then the fun began.

That is, it seems like fun to-day, but it was earnest enough then. The doctors attacked the bathtub on the ground of health, and the politicians opposed it as an obnoxious and luxurious toy from England, designed to corrupt American simplicity. In 1843, the Common Council of Philadelphia considered an ordinance to prevent any such bathing between November and March. The ordinance failed by only two votes. In the meanwhile, the legislature of Virginia laid a tax of thirty dollars a year on all bathtubs that might be set up, and special and very heavy water rates were also laid on them. Boston actually passed an ordinance forbidding the use of bathtubs except on medical advice.

But it was soon a dead letter, for in 1850 the President of the United States decided to have a bathtub in the White House. Millard Fillmore, it seems, when Vice President, had visited Cincinnati as the guest of Adam Thompson, had taken a bath in the famous tub, and had liked it so much that, when he succeeded Taylor, he invited bids for a White House bathtub. It was made by Harper and Gellespie of Philadelphia, and was of thin, cast iron. It remained in the White House, by the way, until Cleveland became President, when a more modern contrivance took its place.

Before twenty years had passed over Adam Thompson's bathtub, every hotel in New York was advertising one, and some hotels actually had three! To-day America has almost forgotten her bathtubless days.

From *The Germantown Guide.*

Contributed by Mrs. H. S. Prentiss Nichols.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

NOTES ON A COUPLE OF VERY EARLY CHURCH LABELS OF PENNA. By Dr. E. S. Potter, Cresco, Pa.

To the students of genealogy and the lovers of heraldry there seems to be no more potent field of research to delve in—than that of the book-plate—those labels of individuality and history which carry ownership beyond the grave. One of the adjuncts of historiography has always seemed to be facts—for the actual truth in the writing of history is a hard matter to obtain. Time passes—things that were heard and told of yesterday may no longer exist today.

The charm of the book-plate or label collector consists along with the unravelling of such facts of biographical and historical nature—the interest associated with the individual possession of the users thereof.

Libraries were scattered or forgotten through neglect, need or affiliation and oftentimes beyond a stray label or plate, ceased to exist.

What seems to be one of the rarest little labels of interest to Pennsylvanians has turned up recently, tucked away in a well-preserved old volume out of its ordinary place, and it reads as follows:

"Ex dono Societatis pro
"Promovendo Evangelis in
"Partibus Transmerinis in
"Usam Parochi de Uplands
"In Pennsylvania
"Anno Dom. 1703."[1]

thus recording the first English Church on the lower Delaware.

Christ Church, Philadelphia, had preceded but by a few years—1695. Exactly when the English services were established in Pennsylvania is of uncertain date (it might be said to date with the coming of the Swedes) as they worked in conjunction with the Swedish Church in which they were in full communion. The Swedes, who had settled "Opplandt" and who controlled the valley of the Delaware, had established two churches, one at Christiania (now Wilmington), and one at Tinicum Island, between 1638 and 1656.

There was no church in Chester until the erection of St. Paul's (a mere frame hut), excepting the Friends' Meeting House, when Rev. Evan Evans[2] was sent over to organize it and be its rector, by Bishop

---

[1] A commentary/
/upon the/First Book of Moses/called/
Genesis/By the Right Rev. Father in God
Symon/Patrick/Lord Bishop of Ely
London, 1648.
Vol. O, No. 2845—Loganian Library—Philadelphia—Ridgeway Branch.

[2] Rev. Evan Evans seems to have held various parishes, succeeding Dr. Clayton as rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1698. His diligence and zeal must have been great; since besides Sunday services in Philadelphia, he held public prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, preaching also at Chichester, Chester, Concord, Montgomery, Radnor and Perkiomen, occasionally.

He seems to have been in London in 1700, or about, receiving the Communion plate from Queen Anne and books for Christ Church.

Compton, a great friend of Rev. George Keith. Keith was a Quaker who, disagreeing with the faith in Philadelphia, was expelled or seceded from the fold—went to London and took orders in the English Church, and was then sent over as the first travelling missionary by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the society which the Rev. Dr. Thos. Bray organized from the "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge," and it is mainly due to Bray that the Church succeeded, as he supported most of the missionaries in America, and to Keith, that of its being established in Pennsylvania. This label thus records the books which the Society presented to the mission upon its dedication.

In the year 1679 Dr. Bray was appointed by the Bishop of London, Commissary of Maryland, for the establishment and better regulation of Ecclesiastical Concerns in the Province, "after having prevailed on Charles II that Ministers or Schoolmasters should be sent over." While engaged in that employment he observed the difficulties and discouragements under which the missionaries labored in that country, and reflecting on the means by which they might be removed or lessened, he found that a competent provision of books was absolutely necessary, and for want of these the missionaries were often disappointed.

Accordingly, his first attempt to remedy this defect was by representing the state of the case to the English Bishops and desiring their assistance in procuring Parochial libraries for the use of the missionaries.

It was while he was busy in procuring benefaction for establishing the libraries in the plantations that he was induced to establish Parochial Lending Libraries in England and Wales in order that his other plan would not fail through any opposition.

This he subjoined to his Broadside,[3] "Proposals for the Encouragement and promoting of Religion and Learning in the foreign Plantations," with the addition "The Present State of Maryland."

The account of the "Society of Christian Knowledge" is as follows:[4] "when the state of religion began to prosper, the Society sent the "Rev. Mr. James Blair to Virginia, and Rev. Mr. Thos. Bray, as "commissary to Maryland, and assisted by the generous contributions "of Her Royal Highness, the Princess of Denmark (later Queen Ann "of England), and many nobility, gentry and clergy, did settle and "support several ministers in the province and fix and furnish some "parochial or lending libraries."[5]

"Further on we read—and 'under his care (Dr. Bray) of recommend-"'ing and encouraging fit and worthy persons,' etc., Mr. Patrick Gour-"don (Gordon) was sent as Missionary to New Jersey; Mr. John "Bartow to West Chester, in the same Province; Mr. John Talbot, Rec-"tor St. Mary's in Burlington, in New Jersey; Mr. Henry Nichols was "settled as minister in Uplands in Pa."[6]

The early Vestry records of Christ Church being lost up to 1717,[7] our only authentic data must be from contemporary notes in such books as are in the library and from outside history and records. When the Rev. Mr. Clayton came to Christ Church in 1695, he probably

---

[3] These are preserved in a collection of prints and papers on the American Colonies at Lambeth Palace, M. S. S., No. 1123, Vol. 1, Art. 3.

[4] Loganian Library, Q No. 478, Phila., Pa.—8th pamphlet
An/account/of the/Society/for/Propagating the Gospel/
in Foreign Parts/etc./Printed by order of the Society/John
Chamberlayne/Secretary/London/1706.

[5] Ibid. par. No. 13-14.

[6] Ibid. par. No. 15.
Ibid. par. No.

[7] "Watson," in his Annals, speaks of their having been burned by accident.

brought a few books with him—the usual donation from the society. (Bible, reading lessons, prayer books, etc.), and £10 worth of books as a personal present and the valuation of £5 of tracts and papers to give away.

Shortly after the founding of Christ Church at Philadelphia, we find this "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," making a donation of some 327 books to Philadelphia.

These books are in the vestry of the Church. They are all stamped in large gold letters—a *supra libros*—"*For the / Library of / Philadelphia.*" From a contemporary note in one of them, they arrived in 1700, (?) and may have been brought back by Rev. Evan Evans on his return from London.[8] These books comprise many on history, science, mathematics and classics, as well as the major portion pertaining to religious matters.

Up to 1730, when the claim of another library is set forth, there were over five hundred books to circulate. These books had been added to by contributions from Thos. Penn, Thos. Graeme, William Talbot, Lord Bishop of Oxford, 1702, and others. It cannot be thought otherwise than that these books were used but as intended, that is, as a lending library. Therefore, there is every indication of its being the first public library, as the books state "the Library of Philadelphia."

"*May 2nd, 1718,*" there is a note to the Church Wardens "*to take "an inventory or catalogue of the library in the custody of Dr. Evans, "who was leaving for Virginia.*"

"In *1728, Dec. 24*, the library received a large donation of about *One Hundred books*, bound in parchment, from *Ludovice C. Sprogell*,[9] *a member of the parish* (who imported an organ which the Church bought at Two Hundred Pounds, Sept. 2, 1728, and was used for 35 years, until 1763).

"1741, several valuable books from Rev. Arch. Cummings, the rector."

"In April 12, 1753, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel "was left One Hundred Pounds by the Rev. Chas. Chambers, of Kent, "*for books to be given and disposed of as the Society should direct, "and they had accordingly given them to the use of Christ Church in Philadelphia, under the care of the minister and vestry of the said Church.*" These numbered 347.

August 18, 1766, talk of taking a new catalogue.

1789, Rev. S. Preston, a Polyglot Bible in 6 volumes, 1657, and other books.

After 1790 there were very few additions—the library having outlived its usefulness.

JOURNAL OF A FRENCH TRAVELLER IN THE COLONIES, 1765. The American Historical Review, Volume 26, number 4, and Volume 27, number 1, reprints a journal found by Mr. Abel Doysié while searching Paris Archives under the general direction of the Service Hydrographique de la Marine. The manuscript consists of 79 unnumbered pages. Pages 63 to 69 are a description, in French, of the American towns, especially Norfolk, Philadelphia and New York, of their defenses and of the degree of ease with which they could be attacked. "The writer was a Catholic,

---

[8] William Penn, in his letters to Jas. Logan speaks of his being in London both in 1700 and 1709.

[9] The Sprogell books being recorded thus—Ex dono
Ludovici Christiani Sprogell
ad
Bibliothecam Ecclesiae Anglicanae in Philadelphia
Die Decembris 24—1728.
A large type label with woodcut border.

and apparently a Frenchman, but all efforts to identify him have been unsuccessful, except that it has been demonstrated from evidence in the French Archives that he was not M. de Pontleroy, whom Choiseul sent over to inspect the Colonies in 1764."

In "Americana," Volume 16, Number 1, is an article entitled "The Fries Rebellion," by Frank M. Eastman of Harrisburg, Pa. This is taken from a book by Mr. Eastman to appear in the near future, entitled "Courts and Lawyers of Pennsylvania." It is an account of the extraordinary uprising against a tax for defraying the expenses of a war with France. The principal objection was confined to the counties of Bucks, Montgomery, Northampton and Berks. The leader was John Fries of Milford, who had commanded a company of militia during the Revolutionary War and also a company in the Whiskey Insurrection.

The Berks County Historical Society has reached a membership of 1500 and is contemplating a fire-proof annex to its building, which will involve an expenditure of $100,000 for construction and equipment. The Society owns its present quarters and is free from debt. Reading gives $750 per annum to the cause and the county appropriates $1000.

Number 103 of the Transactions of The Western Reserve Historical Society contains notice of the purchase of three Pennsylvania items:

1. The Expedition of Major General Braddock to Virginia; with the two Regiments of Hacket and Dunbar, together with many little incidents, giving a lively idea of the nature of the country, climate and manner in which the officers and soldiers lived; also, the difficulties they went through in that wilderness. London, 1755.

2. Six plans of the Different Dispositions of the English Army under the Command of the late General Braddock in North America. I. Line of March with the whole Baggage. II. Plan of the disposition of the advanced Party of four hundred men, to protect the workers while clearing the road. III. Encampment of the Detachment sent from the Little Meadows. IV. Line of March of the Detachment sent from the Little Meadows. V. Plan of the Field of Battle on the 9th of July, 1755. VI. A map showing the Route and Encampment of the Army. By an Officer, London, 1758. Both of these are in the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

3. A contemporary manuscript plan probably made on the spot by an officer of the expedition, makes the collection exceedingly interesting. This has a paper attached exhibiting by means of numbers on the map corresponding with the description on the manuscript of the exact position of each day's march and stopping place. Also by means of red dotted lines the route of Captain Dobson to Isaaca Creek, Red Stone Creek and Mr. Gist's House where he rejoined the army. Also Mr. Gist's route to the French Fort and to the place where he rejoined the army on July 6, 1755.

With reference to the naming of the Tinicum Island Road the Governor Printz Highway, Mr. Isaac R. Pennypacker draws attention to the fact that Dr. A. J. Barnouw, head of the department of Germanic languages at Columbia University, had come across a deposition made before the Leyden notary, K. Outerman, on May 10, 1663, "that Justus de la Grange, with wife and children, sailed for New Netherland in the month of March, 1662, and had bought there the island of Tinnaconcg on the West side of the South River for 6000 (six thousand) guilders." Mr. Pennypacker comments upon the extraordinary price of about $15,000 (normal American value) at this early date.

Book Notices.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF JAMES LOGAN. By Irma Jane Cooper. New York, 1921. 8vo.

Miss Cooper has submitted, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University, a study of James Logan, from the manuscripts and such printed matter as was available, as a citizen, as an associate of Penn and as a member of society. Miss Cooper's bibliography indicates that she has made a close study of the available material and the pamphlet is an interesting contribution to the life of an important man whom she describes as honest, loyal, patriotic, courageous, with a devotion to family and a capacity for work.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THOMAS SULLY, (1783–1872). By Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, Philadelphia, 1921, Wickersham Press, Lancaster, Pa.

This book is a distinct contribution to the history of Art in America, and more especially in Philadelphia. It contains much useful information concerning local history, apart from Art. It is limited to an edition of 500 copies, of which 450 are printed in quarto, and 50 on large paper. Besides introductory matter and a careful index, the book has 15 illustrations and 411 pages of letter press.

A well-written Memoir of Sully (80 pp.) contains much new matter, the result evidently of several years of effort by the authors.

The "List of Paintings" records 2017 portraits, 65 miniatures and 548 Subject paintings, a total of 2631 works, a number so large and the nature of the works so diverse as to enable the reader to form some estimate not only of the versatility of the painter but also of his immense capacity for work, a capacity he continued to possess almost to his ninetieth year. The list enables the reader to form an estimate also of the assiduity of the authors, most of the works upon the list having been traced and identified.

That Sully painted miniatures is not generally known, even by those acquainted with his easel pictures, and it is surprising that some 65 miniatures have been listed.

The "List of Paintings" as prepared by the authors is interesting reading matter. It gives the price paid to Sully as shown by the original Register owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and written throughout in Sully's minute and painstaking hand; also the dimensions of each work; for whom it was painted; and the present owner as far as known to the authors, and so much information concerning old Philadelphia families that the list will probably be useful to students of genealogy.

The book is well printed, the illustrations are chiefly the work of the Intaglio-Gravure Company of Philadelphia and are so well done as to cause regret that it does not contain many more reproductions of Sully's work, but doubtless the great expense of doing this deterred the publishers.

The authors suggest that a Tablet might be placed on some building close to the site of Sully's former home and studio Fifth & Ranstead Streets, Philadelphia, as has been done to mark upon the Drexel Building the site of Gilbert Stuart's studio. (J. F. L.)

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY, A. D. 590–1314. By F. J. Foakes Jackson. New York. The Macmillian Company. 1921.

The author of this book is an Anglican Churchman, who was called to Union Seminary, New York, in 1914, while still retaining his fellowship in Jesus College, Cambridge University. The width of his scholarly

ability appears when it is recalled that only a year earlier he published, in collaboration with Prof. Kirsopp Lake, another English scholar, now connected with Harvard University, the first volume of a work entitled *The Beginnings of Christianity.* That is the most ambitious undertaking that has been attempted by modern English theology in the history of the early church. Unlike the traditional Briton the author generously recognizes the assistance given him by many American scholars, and particularly "the literary assistance" rendered by his friend Barrett Wendell.

It is always a question where a study of medieval Church history shall begin and end. At first sight arbitrarily but with good reason, Dr. Jackson chooses for his limits the age of Pope Gregory the Great, who marks the beginning of a new age as lying beyond the age of the classical civilization, and, for the other limit the year 1314, with the death of Clement V and Philip the Fair, the age of the doom of the Holy Roman Empire and the appearance of Dante's immortal poem, the epic of the Middle Ages. Most remarkably there is no table of contents to the volume, a strange oversight on the part of the author and publisher. But the succeeding chapters are logically arranged, beginning with studies of the growth of the Papacy as the center of the earlier history, and then proceeding to the various developments of that history, the relations with the Empire, the Crusades, the Church and learning, the discipline of the Church, the Church in the several nations, concluding with a Survey of Society and a chapter on Dante.

The book is written with exemplary art. The writer appears to have the layman in view and gives a delightfully written story, unencumbered by details of investigation. His general references he cites at the end of each chapter. He shows the control of a master in his exposition of facts and of their inner relation and interpretation. His ability for special investigation appears in occasional *excursus* in which he pursues some theme that requires expansion, as for instance the obscure relations between the Eastern and Western Church. While entirely a modern in his ecclesiastical and ethical judgments, and unabashed in pronouncing them, he is in general sympathetic with the age he studies. He appreciates warmly such great ecclesiastics as Gregory I and Hildebrand, and gives full credit to the influences exercised by the Church in that complex civilization. The book is to be warmly recommended as a most admirable introduction to the history of an age that is the mother of our own. To too many people that age is "dark" because of the complexities of a social and religious life different from that of modern times. We are grateful to a scholar who can be our cicerone in illuminating it. J. A. M.

War Rations for Pennsylvanians. By George Nox McCain. Philadelphia, The John C. Winston Company. 1920. 8vo. pp. 273.

In this volume Mr. McCain has told the story of the operations of the Federal Food Administration in Pennsylvania in a most entertaining way. It is not a statistical record of the work of the Administration, but the story of the men in the period of trial and struggle who laid aside their business and professional responsibilities to assume a task requiring experience, judgment and ability without compensation. Into the hands of these gentlemen were placed the questions of food supply and food conservation for ten millions of people. The Executive Staff consisted of less than one hundred persons. There was not even the nominal salary of one dollar a year. There were no uniforms nor insignia to be worn by those members. Experts were needed in all lines of production and distribution. The list of volunteer experts embraced men familiar with the supply and demand of farm products, perishable fruits and vegetables, and mill and refinery products of flour and

sugar, including transportation facilities and trade distribution. There is not a single instance in Pennsylvania in which any one of those volunteer advisers withheld information of value or declined helpful advice to the solution of complex problems. "It was a matter of personal knowledge to every member of the headquarters staff in Philadelphia that in numerous instances specialists suggested official action that was distinctly inimical to their own business and financial interests." Newspaper publicity was the direst punishment that could be inflicted. Prayers and entreaties were of no avail to save the guilty from this deserved penalty. Every instrument was used to keep the names of those convicted out of the newspapers. One concern offered $10,000 if its name could be omitted from the public prints. Particular reference is made to the aid extended to the Administration by the Committee of Public Safety and Council of National Defense. One of the finest records made by Pennsylvania during the War was the liberality with which it sustained the Federal Food Administration within its borders. This book cannot fail to be interesting to all Pennsylvanians. (M.)

OUR RIFLES. By Charles Winthrop Sawyer. Boston, The Cornhill Co. 12mo. pp. 409. $4.50.

In this third volume of the Firearms in American History series Mr. Sawyer has produced an admirable manual which will be of great assistance to museum directors as well as those who are interested in the development of the flint lock into the modern rifle. Historically it is interesting to note that in what the author describes as the flint lock period there were 52 makers of guns who were Pennsylvanians out of 96 so listed. It is unnecessary to state that the author is opposed to disarmament. He believes in government-subsidized rifle practice as the best protection of the nation. (M.)

THE CRADLE OF PENNSYLVANIA. By Thomas Willing Balch. Phila., Allen, Lane and Scott. 16mo. pp. 41.

The author makes a very vivid appeal for the preservation of Tinicum Island and the land adjacent as Governor Printz Park and the development of the road from Philadelphia to Wilmington as The Governor Printz Highway. Nya Göteborg was the first permanent white colony settled within Pennsylvania, although Etienne Brulé was the first white man to enter the State in 1615. Printz was an able Governor from 1643 to 1653, and it is eminently proper that this interesting ground should be preserved in his name from the encroachments of business interests. (M.)

YEAR BOOK OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY, 1921. Edited by Barr Ferree.

Mr. Ferree has brought out a publication fully as interesting as those to which we are accustomed. Since 1901 this record of the year has had an ever-widening influence, not only in the State of Pennsylvania, but among our neighbors, who are thus confronted with what is worth while in our history and present condition. An excellent portrait of Governor Sproul serves as a frontispiece and there are facsimiles of important letters and cuts of objects of interest throughout the Commonwealth. There is a list of the honors conferred upon members of the Society and reviews of books by Pennsylvanians and concerning Pennsylvania. The speeches at the Twenty-second Annual Dinner are given in full. Those of Mr. Schwab and Governor Sproul are particularly interesting in these times of reconstruction. (M.)

Vol. XLV OCTOBER, 1921 No. 180

RAL LIBRARY
MAY 27 1922
NIV. OF MICH.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
FOR SUBSCRIBERS

PHILADELPHIA
1921

For Sale at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. Price 75 cents per Number, or $3.00 per year

Entered at the Post-Office at Philadelphia as Second-class matter.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

The Life and Works of Benjamin West. *(Illustrated.)* By *Hon. Hampton L. Carson* 301

The Washington Pedigree; Corrigenda and Addenda. By *Charles H. Browning* 320

The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry. *(Illustrated.) (Continued.)* 364

Notes and Queries 388

Book Notices 394

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MAGAZINE.

Copies of all the volumes of this MAGAZINE can be obtained at the Hall of The Historical Society, bound by Hyman Zucker, in the very best manner, in the style known as Roxburgh, half cloth, uncut edges, gilt top, for $4.25 each and the postage. They will be furnished to subscribers in exchange for unbound numbers, in good condition, on the receipt of $1.25 per volume and the postage.

PRINTED BY PATTERSON & WHITE CO.

WEST FAMILY GROUP

From the painting by Benjamin West
recently purchased for the Nashville Art Association by its
President, Mrs. James C. Bradford

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

...and from an en-
...precious treasures

[illegible] before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, [illegible], Philadelphia, Pa., on [illegible], November 21, 1887.

WEST FAMILY GROUP

From the painting by Benjamin West
recently purchased for the Nashville Art Association by its
President, Mrs. James C. Bradford

THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XLV. 1921. No. 4.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF BENJAMIN WEST.*

BY HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON.

Members and Guests of the Art Alliance, Fellow Members of the Historical Society: I bid you welcome to these halls. As you all know, the Art Alliance is at the present time holding a most interesting exhibition of pictures by Benjamin West, which have been loaned for the purpose of stimulating renewed interest in West and his work.

The committee in charge of that particular exhibition called on me about a fortnight ago and asked that the Historical Society should loan its own portraits and drawings and books, but I was obliged to say that the Council, acting under what I think is a very proper precaution, had to decline the request. You can readily understand that we cannot permit our own pictures to be taken from the walls, because if we did it in one instance we would be obliged to do it for almost every celebration or exhibition that is held, and from an entirely fireproof building some of the precious treasures

* An address delivered before the *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, S. W. Corner of Thirteenth and Locust Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., on the evening of *Monday, December 12, 1921.*

in our possession would be removed and exposed to a risk which insurance cannot compensate. It may be easy to collect the money on an insurance policy, but insurance can never restore a burnt portrait.

I said, however, that we were perfectly willing, in order to express our entire sympathy with the Art Alliance exhibition, to hold a special meeting in the hall of this society, to which the members of the Art Alliance and their friends would be cordially invited, and that after a few general remarks from the President an opportunity would be given of studying what we have in the way of a West Collection. I think by the time you have made your examination you will be surprised as well as delighted at the extent, variety and excellence of our collection.

John Ruskin once said that great nations wrote their autographs in three manuscripts: in books of deeds, in books of words, and in books of art; and that a careful reading of all three was necessary to a complete knowledge of the history of a nation. Then, with that predilection for Art which was characteristic of him, he added "And perhaps the third book is the only one that is trustworthy."

The thought expressed by Ruskin in general terms, was a premonition, so to speak, of the spirit which is animating the studies and the thoughts of men and women of to-day,—that in order to understand the real life of a people, in order to grasp the true meaning of the right movement of the ages, we must broaden our view and not confine our attention to but portions of events which play a fractional although important part in national development.

When I was in school, and even for many years later, the standpoint of most teachers and lecturers on history was to view the American Revolution as though it were a detached event in human history; and it was not until recently that students began to perceive that the story

of the American Revolution was but a single chapter in the great volume of human fate. We now realize that there can be no adequate appreciation of the importance, the dignity and majesty of our national life unless we sweep the horizon with an eagle glance and carry into the picture all of the influences which make for the uplift of humanity and for the education of men and women in whatever condition of society they may be found.

Mr. Wells's recent book on "Outlines of History" whatever we may think either of his conclusions or of the way in which he has reached them, carries conviction to the mind of the reader that he rests upon a true basic thought when he says that *all human history is a unit,* and that whether we begin five hundred thousand years ago and trace history through prehistoric man down through the buried and ruined cities which we excavate, or whether we begin with the turmoil and activity of the last six thousand years, signifies but little, for all periods are but a part of the same vast scheme of evolution and development.

Although I am going to talk only about the works of one man, and he a Pennsylvanian, yet at the same time it will be seen that he played an important part in the general history of our American development. Is it not remarkable that in Pennsylvania, at a time when we had but fifty thousand people in a Commonwealth which now numbers ten millions, it should happen that a lad born in a humble structure, in a field with an open spring, with no sword, no office, no influence, no powerful family to push his interests, with no other instrument of success save that of the painter's brush, should have so far impressed himself upon a hostile nation endeavoring to deprive us of the political and basic constitutional rights of our race, as to win its highest honors in Art and that his dead body should be carried by British statesmen and warriors to a crypt beneath

the dome of St. Paul's, there to rest side by side with Sir Joshua Reynolds and Sir Christopher Wren?

It is well worth dwelling upon to ascertain how it was that a lad of such modest origin should so far influence the life of his time that we are now assembled to recognize his worth, to correct, so far as we can, by our own revived interest, the inattention, the neglect, the lack of appreciation which has obscured his fame for more than seventy years.

Benjamin West was born October 10, 1738, on what is now the campus of Swarthmore College. I shall throw pictures on the screen in a few moments, but I prefer first to give you a general verbal outline of his career before the illustrations are shown. As early as the age of seven he manifested his artistic talents. There are some remarkable stories told about him. Some have been discredited, others have been positively denied; but nevertheless they have a persistent vitality about them, a charm and simplicity of their own which justify me in repeating one or two of them, although you must not expect me critically to examine the evidence upon which each rests.

Much surprise has been expressed that the Quaker lad, as he was called, born into an atmosphere far from artistic, should have developed a taste and displayed a genius for art. There has been a spirited controversy among writers as to whether he was a Quaker or not. Mr. Galt, his biographer, contends that he was a Quaker. Dr. Sharpless, the late President of Haverford, insisted that he was a Quaker; and you will find Dr. Sharpless's testimony to that effect in the West family Bible loaned us by Mr. Howard Edwards. Charles Henry Hart was of opinion that inasmuch as John West himself, the father of Benjamin, was not in good standing in Quaker Meeting, Benjamin could not have been a Quaker; and also because of the fact that West in no portrait exhibited himself in

Quaker garb, although as you will see in his picture of the West family group his father and half-brother and wife are in Quaker dress, while the artist himself is not. But we must not draw the conclusion that because West painted his father in Quaker garb he necessarily was a Quaker at the time of West's birth. It was only last evening that I learned that the father had been re-admitted to good standing in Meeting three years after his return to England, in 1765, and the picture being painted about three years later, indicates, of course, the then personal status.

The important thing that is manifest is that West's talent and zeal and persistency were not characteristic of Quakers. However much he may have startled some of the sect by attempting to walk in worldly fields, yet the story is told of encouragement extended to the boy by Pennington and Williamson, both of whom were strict Quakers, so definitely to the advantage of the lad in the development of his talents.

It is said that when he was but seven years of age he had fraternized with Indian chiefs, who camped out in the neighboring fields and had red and yellow pigments; that they taught him how to use colors in drawing birds and insects and other natural objects about him. To these pigments his mother added a stick of indigo,—which supplied him with the three primary colors, red, yellow and blue; and soon he became master of the secondary colors by mixing them.

The story also was that while his sister, a married woman, was out in the garden plucking flowers, he was left in charge of the crib, and the baby smiled in her sleep; the boy, attracted by that smile, took a stub of a pen which was on the desk and made a little sketch of the baby. When the infant's mother and grandmother returned he attempted to conceal it from fear of censure, but his mother said, "Why, he has made a picture of Sally." West afterwards declared: that his Mother's

smile, and the Mother's kiss that followed it, made him an artist. Those are his own words as quoted by Galt. Although Galt gives some highly-colored touches, I can scarcely conceive it possible that the book is based on a series of fabrications, and for these reasons: Galt distinctly says that he submitted his book to West for examination, the book was printed in West's lifetime, and unless West was determined to impose fraudulently upon a credulous public those stories if false would have been stricken out.

Finding that he had been supplied by Indian chiefs with color; that he had been successful in depicting a baby in the cradle—and you will soon see John Sartain's picture of the incident on the screen—then he found he had no proper brushes, and he was told that camel's hair brushes were in use. Well, he had no such brushes, and so it was, according to the story, that his childish ingenuity manifested itself by his taking hairs from the cat's tail, and the cat soon presented such a mottled appearance that her good health was questioned by the father of Benjamin. His mother explained that the cat had been clipped to supply the boy with hairs from which to make brushes.

A painter in Philadelphia, by the name of Williams, hearing what the boy had done, sent him a box of colors, some paint brushes, and a few engravings to stimulate his imagination; with these he retired to the garret, and then began to teach himself, and made two or three discoveries. On one occasion the lad was ill, and, lying in a darkened room saw passing across the counterpane a white cow, marching from one side of the room to the other and then disappearing. He also saw a train of little pigs running in the same way. He mentioned the fact to those about him and they, having eyes but seeing not, said, "He is delirious." The doctor was called in to take his temperature and count his pulse. He found no excess temperature and the pulse perfectly normal,

so the thoughtful boy sought for an explanation. He found it in a perforated knot-hole in the shutter which closed the window, letting in a ray of light. West began to speculate about the matter, and, pursuing his investigation, in time invented the *camera obscura*— a self invention. He mentioned it to his painter friend, Williams, who said "It is very creditable to you that you invented it yourself, but I received, a few weeks ago, a complete camera from England." So it is plain that, while he was not the original discoverer of the principle upon which the camera was invented, yet so far as his own thoughts were concerned, he was entirely original in his own artistic conception.

He was then thirteen or fourteen years of age. About this time he was introduced to a charming girl of the name of Elizabeth Shewell. The boy who introduced them was later known to history as "Mad Anthony Wayne." Young West and Elizabeth Shewell fell in love with each other, but as they were children they had to wait. West was poor. He went into Lancaster County, and there made friends, and as a particular friend a man of the name of William Henry, a manufacturer, who afterwards was a member of the Continental Congress, — West's portraits of Henry and his wife are on yonder wall. He also became favorably known to the celebrated young Scotchman, James Wilson, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and one of the Framers of the Constitution of the United States. He also became a pupil under the first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Provost William Smith; graduating as a member of the class of 1757. Above my head to the left hangs one of the earliest portraits painted by West, that of Dr. Smith as a middle-aged man.

By this time his fame was spreading. He went to New York to seek encouragement there. He found it, although he later said that as New York was uncon-

genial soil he preferred Philadelphia; but it should never be forgotten that Mr. William Kelly, a New York merchant, whose portrait he was then painting, was so much impressed that, without West's knowledge at the time, he sent to his agent in Philadelphia a letter of credit for fifty pounds, to aid the struggling young artist. That credit was the basis of his Italian studies.

There was a food shortage in Italy, then at war with France, and food was being shipped from Philadelphia to Naples. William Allen, who afterward founded Allentown, after whom Allen's Lane, above Germantown, is named, and who served as Chief Justice of Pennsylvania for a period of twenty-eight years; and whose father-in-law, Andrew Hamilton, was the architect of the State House, were both West's patrons, and they with Mr. Kelly sent the young man abroad to study Roman art and Grecian sculpture in Italy. He left our shores in 1760 at the age of nearly twenty-two, and never returned.

His love for the bright, "apple-cheeked girl," as he called her, continued unabated. They had promised to marry each other so soon as his means justified, but this was a long way off. He spent three years in the study of art in Italy—at a time, we must remember, when the Italian galleries were unspoiled by any depredations on the part of Napoleon. He enjoyed Italy to the full extent of her glory. He had the advantage of Venice, Florence, Pisa, and Rome. He could study also great classical statues; and we can see the result of his study in his drawings, in his power to express anatomically the strength and beauty of an arm, a back or a shoulder, or the magnificent chest of Apollo, whom he likened to a Mohawk Indian. It is said,—and this would tend to discountenance the idea that he was at heart a Quaker —that when he first saw the statue of Apollo Belvedere he exclaimed, "My God, Apollo is like a young Mohawk savage!" To his hearers, who were

shocked by his comparing the most beautiful of the Greeks to an American Indian, he justified his statement. He said, "Why, I have seen these Indians stripped, exercising, drawing the bow, bringing their muscles into play, and pursuing their quarry, so that their chests expand; they are precisely like the Apollo Belvedere."

The Italians asked him to paint a portrait in competition with Mengs, a German artist then in Italy. This he did, and in the gallery when West's picture was displayed it was far superior in the mastery of color to that displayed by the highly-reputed German.

Prior to this, West had made a careful study of the methods employed by Titian, and spent two years and a half trying to learn how Titian mixed his colors. He then decided that the mixing of colors was not the most important feature, but that this must be supplemented by delicacy in the stroke of the brush and the skill of the eye in detecting tones. Thereafter West used the brush delicately and blended his tints with half tones.

At the age of twenty-five West went to England and there met Archbishop Drummond, who became his friend. He met also Burke, Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Oliver Goldsmith. The Archbishop read to him one night, finding he had his head full of classical subjects, a thrilling passage from Tacitus, describing "Agrippina landing with the ashes of Germanicus." Drummond asked West to sketch the incident, which West did over night. The Archbishop showed the drawing to George III. The King recognized talent in it, and said, "Send the young man to me." He was introduced to the Royal presence, and they fell to talking about Regulus, and West then painted, within a very brief time, the "Departure of Regulus From Rome." That was the first picture George III bought from West, who soon became historical painter to the King.

A dispute, in the meantime, had taken place between

the artists of the day over the best methods for the promotion of art, and Sir Joshua Reynolds was one of the unsatisfied. In order to protect Reynolds from what he thought was unjustified criticism and opposition, the King founded The Royal Academy, in 1765, and Sir Joshua became the first president. He held the presidency until 1792, when Benjamin West became his successor. West's long career through that time was one of unbroken success, painting the thirty-eight pictures of royal selection to be seen at Windsor.

Within two years of his arrival in England he had established himself on so firm a basis that he wrote to Elizabeth Shewell, asking her to come to him that they might be married. She had an obtuse brother, who did not wish her to marry an unknown man, and it is said he locked her into a room and confined her there so long that all visible connection or correspondence between the young people had ceased. Here is the story: the moment she heard that success had smiled upon her lover, and that his arms were extended to her across the sea, she sought to escape from her prison house; and on a certain night with the aid of Benjamin Franklin, William White, afterwards Bishop White, and Francis Hopkinson, she effected her escape. That was a beautiful conspiracy! Here we have a future Bishop of the diocese, a famous philosopher, and the author of "The Battle of the Kegs" rescuing a lady from a third-story window, by throwing up a rope ladder to her, during her brother's sleep; they also had a convenient coach at a dark corner of the roadside; and drove down to the river, at Chester, where they were holding a sloop. And, behold, West's father was there, with Matthew Pratt, the artist. And thus was she carried across the ocean; and married to West at St. Martin's in the Fields. No Quaker escapade was that!

Mr. Hart denies the story, but I cannot find substantiation of his denial except his bald assertion that

the story was not true. Benjamin Franklin was fifty-eight at that time, Bishop White only eighteen, and Francis Hopkinson twenty-five. The escaping girl was nineteen. Whether it was a dark or a moonlight night is not stated, but at all events the conspiracy succeeded. The important feature of the matter is this, that the story was told by Bishop White to a Mr. Swift, of Easton, and he repeated it to Sully, who afterward was a pupil of Benjamin West. To say that all this can be swept aside, and the Bishop discredited, because of the assertion by Matthew Pratt, himself a fellow-conspirator and a witness to the wedding, in his diary that she was married with the express approval of all her relatives and friends—amounting to an express contradiction of the disapproval of her brother—strikes me as being too slight as evidence of contradiction; at least, I would not like to talk to twelve men in the box and expect them to believe the denial,—and when I say "twelve men in the box," of course, I mean there would be six women to be convinced, as well as six men.

West painted four classes of pictures: portraits, minor historical scenes, great historical scenes, and religious subjects. The cloud which settled down for so long a time upon his fame was due measurably to the fact that most of his subjects ceased to attract, where they did not actually repel. The public taste had changed. I have recollections of my own visits to the Academy of Fine Arts, on the site of the old Chestnut Street Opera House, and I can recall my childish gasps in looking at *Death on the Pale Horse.* I do not feel so now. I regard that picture as a prevision of the late agonies of a World War. Were we not all stirred by the pages of that master work of the Spanish novelist, Ibanez, "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse"? Did we not see War, Famine, Pestilence and Death in ghastly reality? Did we not realize the truth in the visions of St. John? Suppose that West's picture had

been exhibited during the war, would we not have found in it an artistic expression of our realization of what we were living through? Remember that West lived not only through the American Revolution, but the horrors of the French Revolution, of The Reign of Terror, and of the Napoleonic Wars, when Europe was deluged with blood from the Alps to the Neva. With West's portrayal before us we realize that as a supreme artist he had given expression to the thoughts then burning in the minds of men.

Take the religious picture, *"Christ Healing the Sick,"* the great picture which hangs on the walls of the Pennsylvania Hospital. There is an artistic expression of the fact, never before so much thought of in the world's history as in our own day that Christ walked the wards of the hospitals to relieve the pain and the suffering that war had caused. Take, too, his picture of *Christ Rejected,* and recall that it was painted during that period in France when Christianity had been abolished, and the Goddess of Reason had been substituted. Plainly his picture expressed the spirit of France in casting out Christianity and the Church.

In order to realize what creative artists mean when they paint allegories, what they feel, what they intend to convey as lessons to humanity, as their messages whisper through the centuries, we must place ourselves in their position and visualize events as they saw them. Then only can we feel as they felt.

From the standpoint of artistic criticism of West's merits or defects of execution I do not feel myself competent to pass judgment upon these works of art. I looked, yesterday, at the portraits assembled by the Art Alliance and I confess that I was not aware that West was so fine a portrait painter. With the historical scenes I was more familiar.

In this last class, West did a distinctive thing: he abolished the classic costume in the robing of English

warriors and heroes in the hour of death. He was called upon to paint "*The Death of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham.*" His conception was against the express criticism of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who would have wrapped a Roman toga about the dying Wolfe. West sturdily said, "This battle took place in the year 1758, out in the wilds of Canada. That Indian, who was there with his scalping knife and tomahawk, knew nothing about a toga, and it is inappropriate." And so, in spite of his Master, he painted in the scarlet coat and the plumes and the war bonnet. The realism, the propriety of making his pictures fit the facts and suit the historic atmosphere in time captivated Sir Joshua and he surrendered; and from that time it became evident that West had taught the artists a lesson that they never forgot, for never again did an English soldier, or an American, appear in the dress of Greeks or Romans.

Let me now call your attention to our exhibits. The picture which hangs over the mantelpiece is one of the finest and largest of his portraits. It is of William Hamilton, of the Woodlands, and his niece, Mrs. Lyle. If that picture were cleaned, and a coat of varnish given to it, you would find all the brilliant sureness of the original. There is also a delicacy about it in tone, and also a fine accuracy in the painting of the hands of Mrs. Lyle—the artist succeeding in a detail which Gilbert Stuart shunned.

The two little pictures at the right of the mantelpiece are the original studies which Benjamin West executed preparatory to painting the portraits of King George III and Queen Charlotte. To the right is a small head of West from the brush of Sir Thomas Lawrence. On the easel is a larger portrait of West, by the same artist. By the fireplace is a portrait of the wife of Thomas Hopkinson, the famous electrician, who discovered what we call "points," which stimulated the imagination of

Benjamin Franklin and started him on his electrical studies, which made him immortal.

Around the corner, in the other room, you will find two early paintings by West, those of William Henry and his wife, the Lancaster portraits, contemporaneous with this above my head of Provost Smith.

In the cases, you will find in two sketch books 110 drawings by West; on the tables seven huge folio volumes of John Galt's "Life of West," extra illustrated, with autograph letters. There, too, is the receipt for West's funeral expenses in 1820 in the sum of £696—a silent witness of the august ceremony attending his interment in St. Paul's—a tribute by the British nation to the Delaware County lad of Pennsylvania. There is also his correspondence with royalty and noblemen and scientific men on both sides of the water, counting over 300 letters in manuscript in West's handwriting. West was also an autograph collector, and his specimens—532 in number, go back, as you will observe, to the reign of Louis XIV and include the autographs of Catherine the Great, Charles V, Queen Isabella, Lorenzo de Medici, and Napoleon I, and among painters, Poussin, Salvator Rosa, Reynolds, Harlow and Flaxman. Also you will find the family Bible of West, also some autograph letters of his, one of which is addressed to Copley, which I will soon throw on the screen. You will observe that some of his principal drawings can be regarded as original studies for several of his most famous pictures. In short, we have here, within these walls, and owned by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as extraordinary collection of "Westiana" as can anywhere be found. Some were purchased, others picked up and presented to us by enthusiastic admirers of the artist. Nowhere on either side of the Atlantic, will you find in single ownership so complete a collection as we have here.

When succeeding Sir Joshua as President of the

Royal Academy in 1792 West was offered a Knighthood by the King, but refused the honor. "It is not to my taste," said he, "nor is it necessary to my fame."

West lives, too, in his pupils; he became the teacher of many American artists, of whom some were fifteen, twenty or even thirty years younger than himself, and thus transmitted his style, feeling and enthusiasm to other men. He taught Charles Willson Peale, Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Sully, Washington Allston, and even the inventor, Samuel Morse, of electric telegraph fame.

(Pictures are thrown on the screen).

This is West's birthplace, built in the year 1725, now standing on the campus at Swarthmore. About 1874 fire damaged the house, but fortunately did not reach the room in which West was born, which is to the left of the doorway. In other respects the house is much in the position and condition that it originally had, having been carefully restored by the trustees of Swarthmore College.

Here is a purely imaginative piece called "The Young Artist" or "The Inspired Boy," which serves as a frontispiece to an abridged "Life of West," by Galt, published in Boston in the year 1832. The first edition of Galt's Life was printed in Philadelphia, in 1816, during West's lifetime, and, as the title page tells us, compiled from materials furnished by himself, putting an end, I should think, to the doubts of the authenticity of the stories.

Here is John Sartain's imaginative effort to give substance to the attempt of West to draw a picture of his baby niece; there, too, is the cat, seemingly satisfied with any robbery committed on her tail.

There is a sketch of John West, the father of Benjamin West, drawn by Benjamin when he was about seventeen years of age, about the year 1753. There is

no attempt at elaboration, but a few strong strokes give expression both to the figure and to the face.

Here is a picture of the West family, painted by West years after he had married Elizabeth Shewell. West himself is seen in the extreme right-hand corner of the picture, standing behind the chair. His father is sitting immediately in front of him, and his half-brother is seated beside the father. The extraordinary incident with regard to this is that the boy seated beside his father had never seen his father until the arrival of the party from America in 1765, he being the child of the first wife, who remained in England while John West went to America; she died in giving birth to the boy; Benjamin was the youngest son of John West and Sarah Pearson, the second wife. Matthew West, the other son, is the larger boy standing in the left corner, and Benjamin West, Junior, is the baby in the lap of Mrs. West,—Elizabeth Shewell, who so lightly descended that rope ladder, steadied by the firm hand of Franklin.

Here is Matthew Pratt's portrait of Benjamin West, painted in London, at about the period of time of his marriage; and here is the picture of the girl who made her escape, painted by the same artist.

Here is one of the scarcest of the portraits of West, published as an engraving in 1768. The artist is unknown, but the picture appears in Galt, marked simply as "The Scarce Portrait of 1768."

Here is a mezzotint by William Pether of West, after William Lawrenson, which is regarded as still scarcer than the preceding picture; but it gives you a more satisfactory view, as containing two-thirds of his face. At that time he was about forty-two years of age.

Here is Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Benjamin West, Stuart being his pupil. Those of you who can see the left-hand corner of the picture, where the name of the artist appears, will see the name of "Gabriel Stuart." I

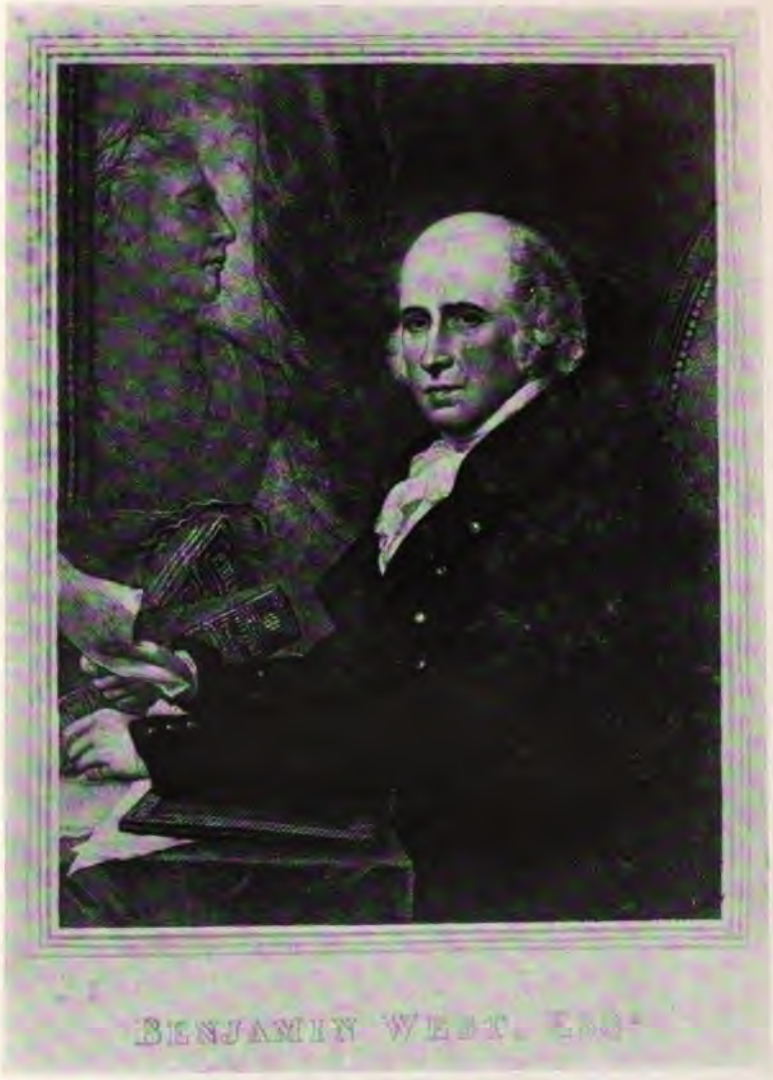
Gabriel Stuart pinxt. J. & J. Taylor Wych-Street 1786 Caroline Watson Sculpsit Engraver to the Queen

BENJAMIN WEST ESQ.R

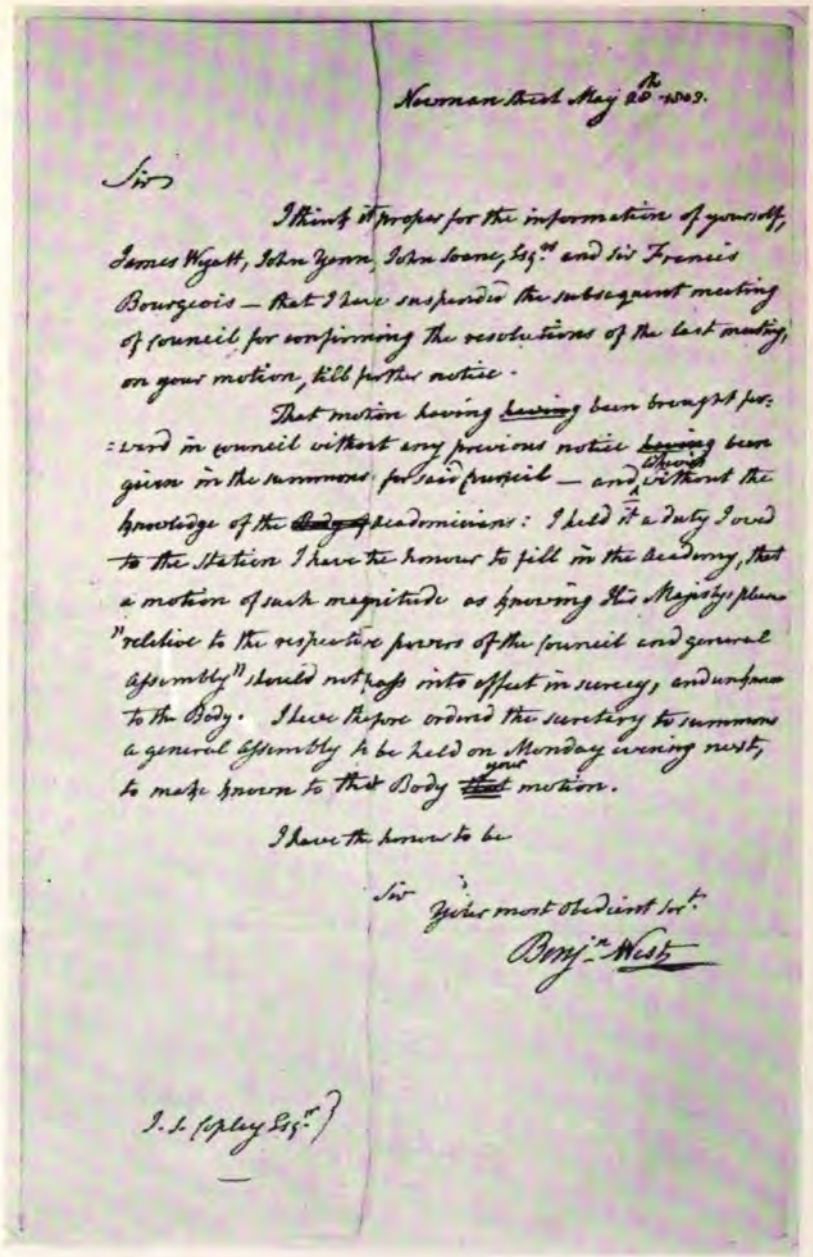
HISTORICAL PAINTER to His MAJESTY.

Painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. Engraved by A.L. Dick.

BENJAMIN WEST, P.R.A.



Painted by himself in 1793
Reproduced from the engraving by W. T. Fry



Newman Street May 20th 1809.

Sir

I think it proper for the information of yourself, James Wyatt, John Yenn, John Soane, Esq.rs and Sir Francis Bourgeois — that I have suspended the subsequent meeting of Council for confirming the resolutions of the last meeting, on your motion, till further notice.

That motion having been brought for-
ward in Council without any previous notice having been given in the summons for said Council — and without the knowledge of the Body of Academicians: I held it a duty I owed to the Station I have the honour to fill in the Academy, that a motion of such magnitude as proving His Majesty's plans "relative to the respective powers of the Council and general assembly" should not pass into effect in secrecy, and unknown to the Body. I have therefore ordered the Secretary to summon a general Assembly to be held on Monday evening next, to make known to that Body your motion.

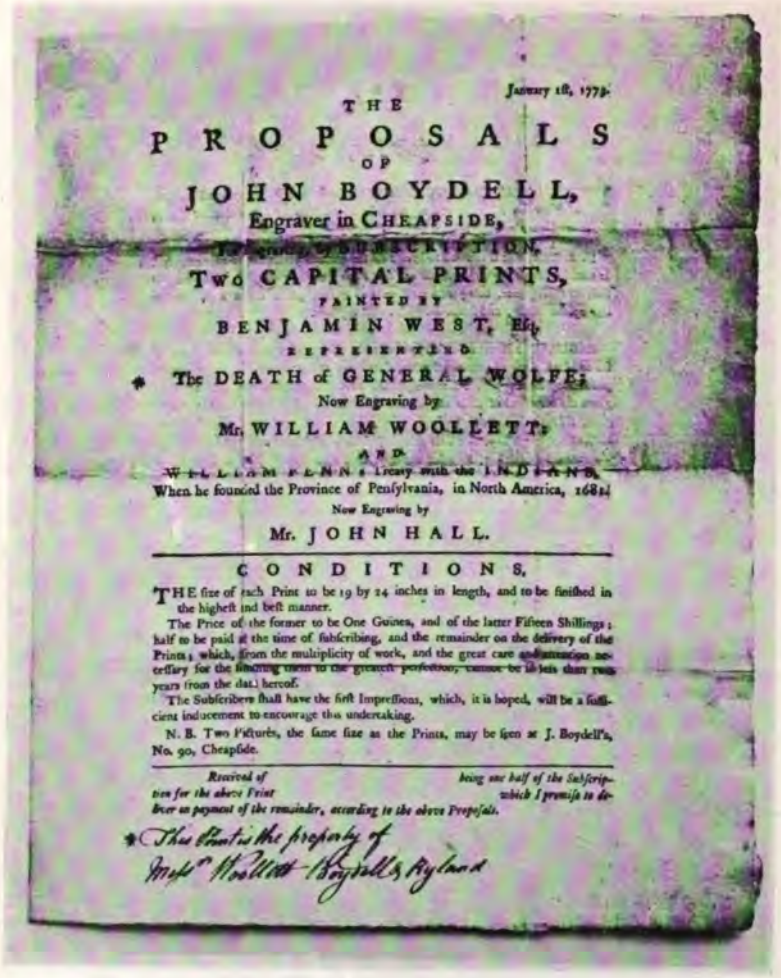
I have the honour to be

Sir Your most obedient Sert.

Benj.a West

I. L. Copley Esq.r

From the original letter in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania



January 18, 1775.

THE

PROPOSALS

OF

JOHN BOYDELL,

Engraver in CHEAPSIDE,

FOR PUBLISHING BY SUBSCRIPTION,

Two CAPITAL PRINTS,

PAINTED BY

BENJAMIN WEST, Esq;

REPRESENTING

* The DEATH of GENERAL WOLFE;

Now Engraving by

Mr. WILLIAM WOOLLETT;

AND

WILLIAM PENN's Treaty with the INDIANS,

When he founded the Province of Pensylvania, in North America, 1682;

Now Engraving by

Mr. JOHN HALL.

CONDITIONS.

THE size of each Print to be 19 by 24 inches in length, and to be finished in the highest and best manner.

The Price of the former to be One Guinea, and of the latter Fifteen Shillings; half to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the remainder on the delivery of the Prints; which, from the multiplicity of work, and the great care and attention necessary for the finishing them to the greatest perfection, cannot be in less than two years from the date hereof.

The Subscribers shall have the first Impressions, which, it is hoped, will be a sufficient inducement to encourage this undertaking.

N. B. Two Pictures, the same size as the Prints, may be seen at J. Boydell's, No. 90, Cheapside.

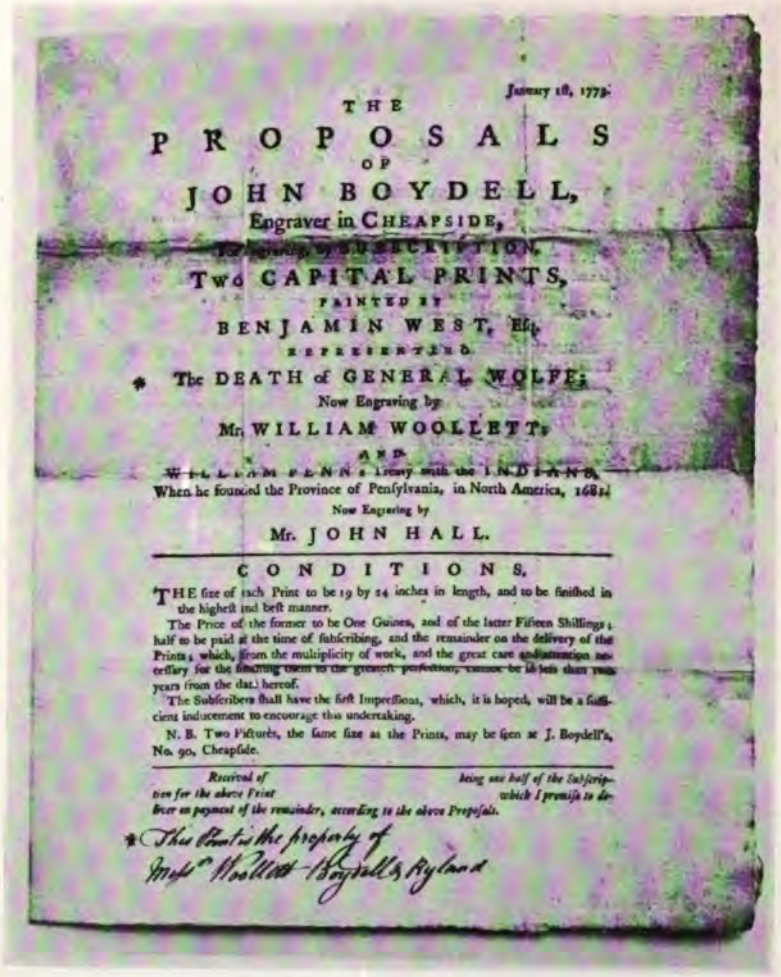
Received of ..... *being one half of the Subscription for the above Print which I promise to deliver on payment of the remainder, according to the above Proposals.*

* This Print is the property of Mr. Woollett - Boydell & Ryland

From the original broadside in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

From John Hall's engraving of the painting by Benjamin West

William Henry



January 18, 1775.

THE

PROPOSALS

OF

JOHN BOYDELL,

Engraver in CHEAPSIDE,

FOR PUBLISHING BY SUBSCRIPTION,

Two CAPITAL PRINTS,

PAINTED BY

BENJAMIN WEST, Esq.

REPRESENTING

* The DEATH of GENERAL WOLFE;

Now Engraving by

Mr. WILLIAM WOOLLETT,

AND

WILLIAM PENN's Treaty with the INDIANS,

When he founded the Province of Pensylvania, in North America, 1682;

Now Engraving by

Mr. JOHN HALL.

CONDITIONS.

THE size of each Print to be 19 by 24 inches in length, and to be finished in the highest and best manner.

The Price of the former to be One Guinea, and of the latter Fifteen Shillings; half to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the remainder on the delivery of the Prints; which, from the multiplicity of work, and the great care and attention necessary for the finishing them to the greatest perfection, cannot be in less than two years from the date hereof.

The Subscribers shall have the first Impressions, which, it is hoped, will be a sufficient inducement to encourage this undertaking.

N. B. Two Pictures, the same size as the Prints, may be seen at J. Boydell's, No. 90, Cheapside.

Received of *being one half of the Subscription for the above Print* *which I promise to discharge on payment of the remainder, according to the above Proposals.*

* This Print is the property of Mr. Woollett — Boydell & Ryland

From the original broadside in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

From John Hall's engraving of the painting by Benjamin West

William Henry

OUR SAVIOUR HEALING THE SICK IN THE TEMPLE

Painted by Benjamin West

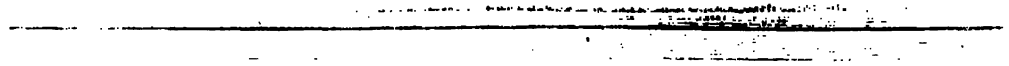
Engraved by Charles Heath

BENJAMIN WEST, P. R. A.

M 359 DEATH ON THE PALE HORSE PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS

From a Thistle Print. Copyright Detroit Publishing Company

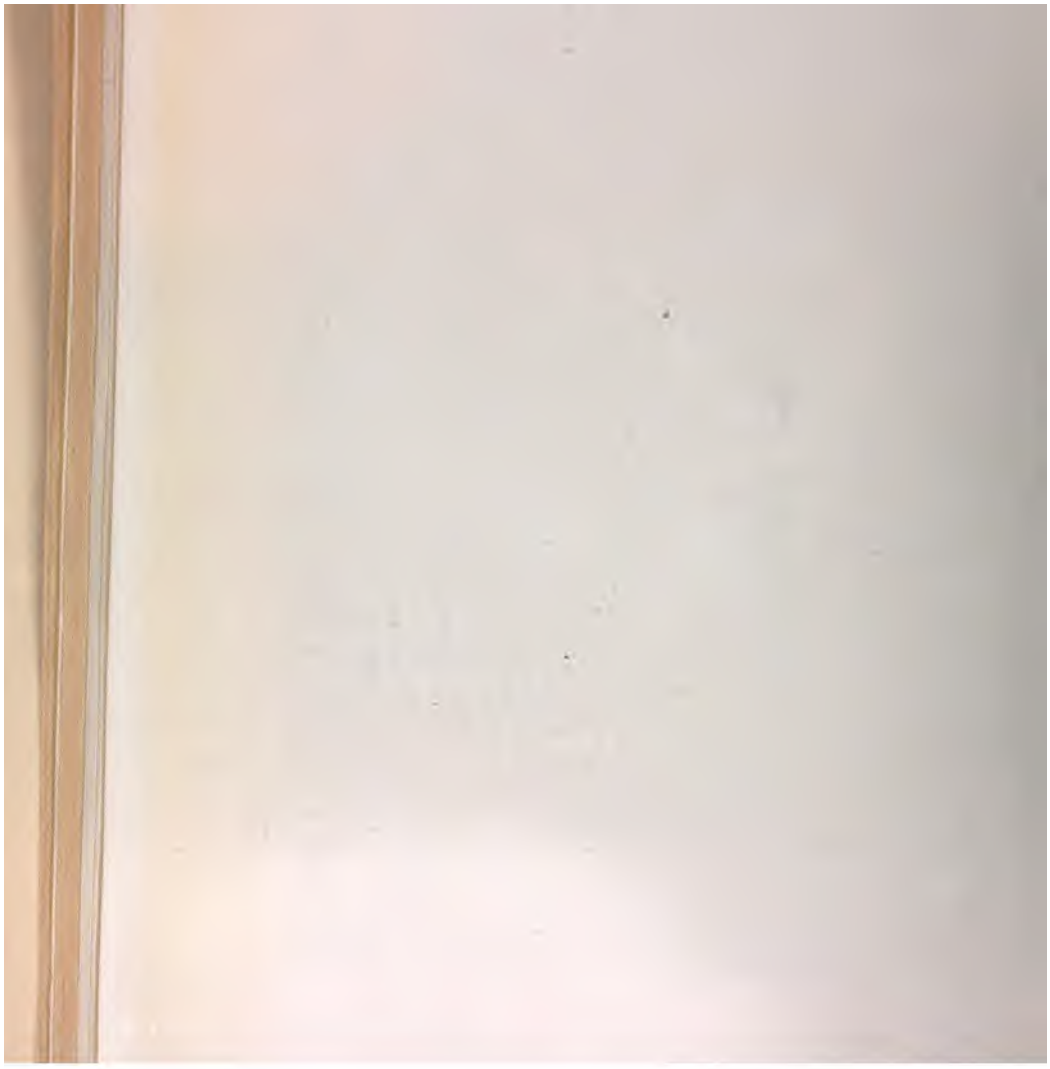
Benj.n West



Eliza Hart

WILLIAM HAMILTON OF "THE WOODLANDS"
And His Niece
MRS. ANN HAMILTON LYLE

The original canvas by Benjamin West is in the Hall
of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania



BIRTHPLACE OF BENJAMIN WEST
Before the fire

Frontispiece to
"THE PROGRESS OF GENIUS"
Second Edition, Boston, 1832

MRS. BENJAMIN WEST AND CHILD

Painted by Benjamin West

Reproduced from a print in the possession of
Miss Anne Hollingsworth Wharton

MINIATURE OF BENJAMIN WEST, HIS WIFE AND CHILD

Painted by Benjamin West

Reproduced from the photograph in the possession of Miss Anne Hollingsworth Wharton

WEST'S FIRST EFFORT IN ART.

Engraved by J. Sartain

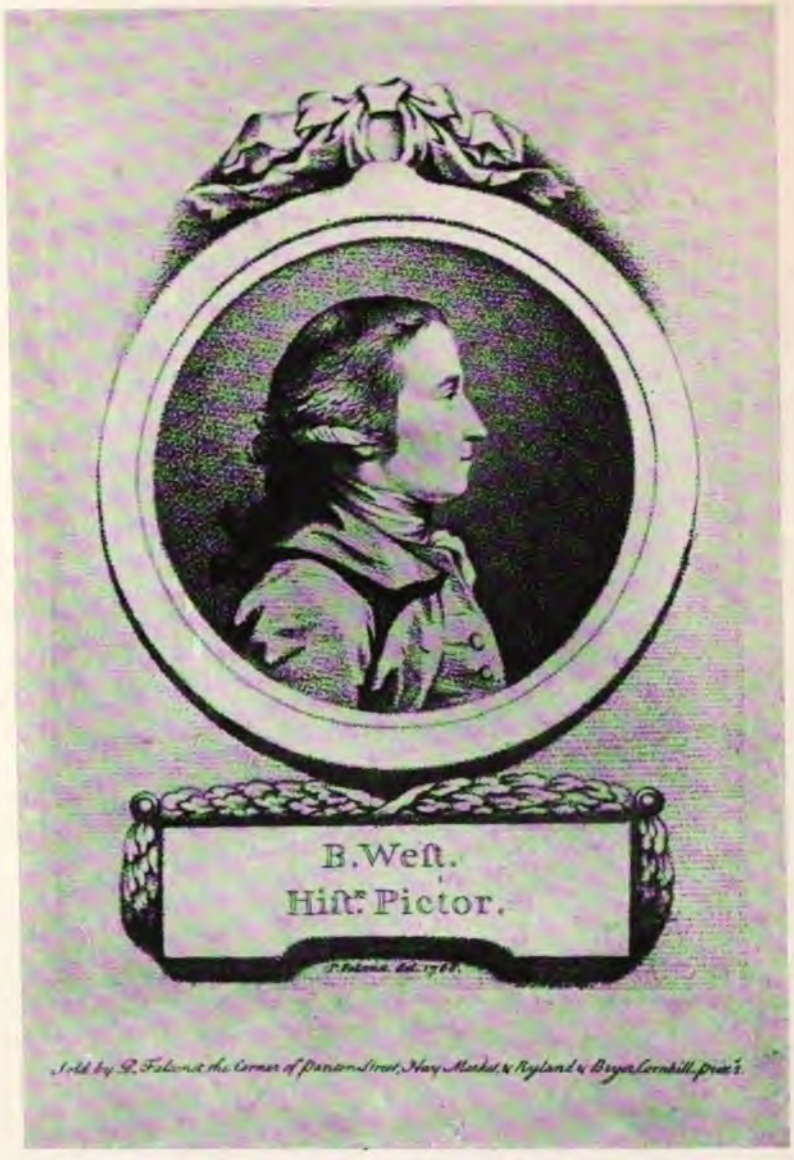
JOHN WEST, FATHER OF BENJAMIN WEST
As sketched by Benjamin West about the year 1753

WEST'S FIRST EFFORT IN ART.

Engraved by J. Sartain

JOHN WEST, FATHER OF BENJAMIN WEST
As sketched by Benjamin West about the year 1753

From the engraving by G. S. and J. G. Facius of the painting by Benjamin West of himself and family


B. West.
Hist.r Pictor.
Sold by R. Falconet the Corner of Paternoster Street, Hay Market & Ryland & Bryan Cornhill, printers.

Wm. Lawrenson, Pinxt. Wm. Pether, Fecit

used to think, when I looked at the full length picture of Washington, after "Gabriel Stuart,"—afterwards called "The Lansdowne Portrait",—as engraved by Heath, that it was a slip by the engraver, but I have seen so many engravings since with the name Gabriel that I can well believe that Gilbert Stuart was quite sincere when he said, "Well, they intended to make an archangel of me, anyhow."

Here is Benjamin West as portrayed by Sir Thomas Lawrence, who was his successor in the office of the President of The Royal Academy. West is shown as lecturing on the properties of color. That accounts for the rainbow introduced into the upper portion of the picture. And on the curtain is depicted "The Death of Ananias," one of West's most celebrated pictures.

Here is Benjamin West's portrait of himself. The countenance, I think, is more pleasing than that depicted by Sir Thomas. This was in 1793. He has introduced a bust of some classical character as an accessory to the picture, according to the fashion of the times, but I cannot but think that accessories detract from portraiture by distracting attention.

Here is a letter, the original of which is among one of the collections in the other hall. It was written to Copley, the artist, who was one year older than West, being born in 1727. Copley, as you know, went from Boston to England. His son went with him, and in course of time became Lord Chancellor Loughborough, one of the greatest lawyers England ever knew; very few even in England know that the great rival of Lord Brougham was a Boston boy. I show the letter as a specimen of West's handwriting.

Here are the Proposals, printed as a Broadside in 1773, by John Boydell, publisher of an illustrated edition of Shakespeare, for engraving two pictures by

West, "The Death of General Wolfe" and "Penn's Treaty With the Indians."

I now show you Hall's engraving of the "Treaty With the Indians," the original painting is in the Reception Chamber of the State House. West has been severely criticized for not observing historical accuracies of dress. William Penn is shown in the garb of a strict Quaker, of portly figure, and a man of middle age. In point of fact, Penn at that time was but thirty-two years of age, with an athletic, energetic body, and could spring, dance and run with the Indians, as he frequently did; and who at the time of the Treaty was in court dress, with a sash.

He has also introduced, in the figure of the old man —the third one in the group to the right—his father; and has again introduced his half-brother into the picture. Of the Treaty, Voltaire declared it was the only treaty that had never been sworn to and never broken. I think, that regard for a full statement of the causes conducing to the peace of Pennsylvania in this Southeastern corner would impel a modern historian to add that besides Penn's Treaty it was a fact that before an Indian tomahawk could reach a Quaker scalp it would have to fly through fifty miles of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.

Here are illustrations of the charming miniatures which West could paint. The first is of his wife and child. The second of his wife, child, and himself, is quite as charming as anything by Sir Thomas Lawrence. For these I am indebted to Miss Anne Hollingsworth Wharton.

This is an ambitious portrait of Arthur Middleton, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, of South Carolina, with his wife and child, painted by West. The original is in the possession of Dr. Henry Middleton Fisher, of this city.

I now show you the picture, in black and white, of

"Christ Healing the Sick." West wrote to Samuel Coates, of Philadelphia, in the year 1801, that he would paint a picture for the Pennsylvania Hospital. When it was exhibited in London it was so highly thought of that the British Institution bought the original for three thousand guineas, the highest price ever paid for a painting up to that time; West agreed to sell it only on condition that he could paint a replica. The replica was sent to Philadelphia. Here it is in colors. That picture was exhibited before presentation to the hospital, and brought contributions to the hospital sufficient to establish thirty beds in the Pennsylvania Hospital. I can remember a little building, but two stories in height, standing on the south side of Spruce Street, halfway between Eighth and Ninth, on the grounds of the hospital, in which this picture was said to have been exhibited. That building was one of the early homes of this Historical Society, before we came to the Patterson mansion at Thirteenth and Locust Streets, now converted into our present hall. Thus are we pleasingly associated with memories of West. The picture itself hangs to-day in the entrance hall to the middle building of the group which together form the Pennsylvania Hospital. Beneath the picture is a plaster cast of the hand of Benjamin West, and one of the original brushes that he used, displayed under glass.

I thank you for the attention you have given me.

THE WASHINGTON PEDIGREE; CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

BY CHARLES H. BROWNING.

I.

THE MOTHER OF MR. LAWRENCE WASHINGTON, A GRANDFATHER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

There has never been a controversy as to who was the mother of Mr. Lawrence Washington, the eldest son of Colonel John Washington, of Washington parish, Westmoreland County, Virginia, and the grandfather of General George Washington. In fact, there has never been any doubt as to her name, and whose daughter she was. Ask any of the many "Colonial Dames" and "Colonial Warsmen," lineal descendants of Mr. Lawrence Washington, who she was, and these concerned will readily reply: "Ann Pope." To them there is no question about it, because they had used her father, Colonel Nathaniel Pope, of Virginia, as a "claim," either original or supplementary, with the consent of their Society's Genealogist.

But the fact is, the ladies and gentlemen of Washington blood are not descended from Colonel Pope, because his daughter Ann, tho a wife of Colonel John Washington, was not the mother of Colonel Washington's son and heir Lawrence, their ancestor, and I hope that herein I shall convince them, and the pedigree examiners, that they have erred in this item of the Washington genealogy, by telling how I know it. But I have to admit that the alleged "examiners" all over the Union, are, in a way, not to be blamed altogether for the mistake, because they naturally relied

upon the many printed Washington pedigrees and could have believed the writers of them had personally substantiated all their statements before publishing.

As will appear hereafter, young Captain John Washington, who had been living in Virginia, first in Northumberland Co., and next in Westmoreland Co., for several years, returned from a short visit to England, before April, 1655.

It may have been before going on this voyage, or immediately upon his return from his visit to Tring, a market town, in Hertfordshire, that he married his first wife, a young widow, with one child, and also a resident of Westmoreland, when he was about 24–26 years of age. The exact date and place of this wedding are still conjectural, but the lady's maiden name is certainly unknown at this writing, so far as I am aware. However, this latter item would only be nice to know, for it does not affect my story. The lady whom Captain (and he may have been a Major, as will be explained) John Washington married as his first wife (but not in the sense that he was going to accumulate wives), was Mrs. Ann Brett. She was the widow of Mr. Henry Brett, sometime a merchant of Plymouth, Devonshire, but at the time of his decease a land owner and resident of Westmoreland Co., Va., who died intestate, and Washington administered his estate, after he married Mrs. Brett, as appears from the following Court items.

Westmoreland Court Order Book, under date of 28 Sep., 1670, is a Statement of Account of Henry Brett's Estate, "exhibited by Lt. Col. John Washington, who married Ann, the relict of Mr. Henry Brett, late of ye county dec'd." A commission reported "We have examined ye whole Inventory & Debts of ye said Henry Brett, and Wee Doe find that Mrs. Ann Brett Washington hath paid beyond the Assatts," &c.

And *ibid,* under 31 May, 1671, find that Mrs. Ann (Brett) Washington's son, Samuel Brett, a merchant at

Plymouth, gave power of attorney "to execute a discharge to Lt. Col. Washington, who intermarried with Mrs. Ann Brett, ye relict and Admin'trix of Henry Brett, of Plymouth, merchant, dec'd."

These items, while they confirm the marriage of John Washington and the Widow Brett, his first wife, do not tell us when Mr. Brett died, nor when Mrs. Washington died, but this happened certainly before Feb. 1658–59, as will appear. In their short married life, they had three children, namely Lawrence, John and Ann, as also will be shown.

It was probably after this 1671 item, when Samuel Brett* testified that Washington had administered the estate of Brett Sr. so satisfactorily that he ran in debt to Washington thru some trading account, and Lawrence Washington, as his father's executor, had to sue his half-brother for balance of the account, £21.4.5 ster. This suit was brought against Samuel's Virginia attorney, as Brett was then a merchant at Bristol, 14 June, 1682, before a Westmoreland County Court, of which Lawrence was one of the Justices. Sometime later, Samuel's lawyer, as defence, brought a counter claim against the estate of John Washington for £100 ster., to pay for damages to a sloop, belonging to Samuel, which Washington had used to take his cattle, horses, &c., over to Maryland, in April, 1676, "as may more largely appear" below. The jury decided in favor of Lawrence.

A very short time after his first wife died, leaving him with three young children, John Washington married his second wife, who was Mrs. Ann Brodhurst, the widow and relict, and apparently the second wife, of Walter Brodhurst, who removed from Maryland to Northumberland Co., where he was the sheriff in 1652,

* There was a Samuel Brett, who married in 1647, in St. Andrew parish, Plymouth, who may have been brother to Henry, who named his son for him.

and a burgess next year, and then was seated in Westmoreland, when it was formed from Northumberland, and the daughter of Lieut. Colonel Nathaniel Pope, of Westmoreland Co., a near neighbor to Washington.

In this way it appears as if Ann Pope, a young woman, was the second wife of Walter Brodhurst, and that his first was one of the daughters of Lt. Col. Thomas Gerrard. Brodhurst and Gerrard had been neighbors in Maryland and removed together to Northumberland Co., 1650. Gerrard in his will, dated 1 Feb. 1672–3, says he married twice, and had issue by each wife. He had five daughters (and several sons, one John, of whom hereafter), but named only two, and a lot of grandchildren through them, but named only two, Gerrard Tucker and Gerrard Peyton, a son of daughter Frances, who was the wife of several prominent Virginians, and then became the third wife of Lt. Col. Washington. Possibly Brodhurst's son, Gerrard, was also one of his unnamed grandchildren, and well enough off not to need a special legacy.

Brodhurst's will, dated 26 Jan., 1658–9, proved by the witnesses at his house, and presented in Court, 12 Feb. following by his widow, Ann, born Pope, as its executrix. According to the will, she was so to act, excepting as to his land he desired "my son Gerrard" to have. His arrangement for his widow was not generous. As long as she remained his widow and unmarried, she was to have the use of his land, cattle, horses, &c., but for this she should pay rental to his will overseers, Col. Gerrard, possibly his first father-in-law, and Col. Pope, his second father-in-law, who should use the money for the up-keep and education of his children. From this, it looks as if Gerrard was to look after the welfare of his namesake, if not his grandson, Gerrard Brodhurst, and Pope to do the same for his daughter's son, Walter. That young Gerrard Brodhurst may have had some trouble in getting some of his

inheritance from his father's estate, appears through a quit-claim deed, dated 20 Sep. 1668, from "Mrs. Ann Brodhurst" (whom we have reasons to imagine was then "Mrs. John Washington"), by which she assigned 500 acres of land, which, after 1675, lay in Stafford Co., to her stepson, Gerrard Brodhurst.

The exact date of the marriage of John Washington and Mrs. Brodhurst is unknown, and so is that of the death of Mr. Brodhurst. Both dates remain hypothetic. Mr. Brodhurst's will, which was dated 26 Jan. 1658–9, was not filed till in Nov., 1659, and the inventory of his personal estate on 17 April, 1661, therefore, we got no information from these sources, or only that Washington seems to have lost no time in getting a second wife to mind the infants of his previous one, and look out for his comfort. However, there is a suggestive, tho not convincing, item extant which shows Major Washington must have married Mrs. Brodhurst around Feb., 1658–9, which I shall bring up.

There are two good items extant that approximate the time of their wedding. One, dated 12 Feb., 1658–9, a recorded paper in which Ann's father, Lt. Col. Pope, styled her "my daughter Ann Pope Brodhurst."

The other item, dated 11 May, 1659, also signed with his "mark" by Lt. Col. Pope, is a power of attorney concerning some land, addressed to his daughter Ann, in which he calls her "My daughter Ann Pope *alias* Washington."

Therefore it may be seen that John Washington and his second Ann, another widow with a son, married early in the year 1659, and before May, certainly, if the "young son" baptised on 4 Oct. was her first child and not the last one of the first wife of Col. John.

In the Spring of 1659, John Washington went on one of his trading voyages abroad, and returned to Virginia in Sep. On the 29 Sep., 1659, the Governor of Maryland wrote him a letter, which he received by

messenger in Westmoreland Co., at his home, in which the Governor requested him to attend a Maryland Court on the following 4 Oct., to testify in a criminal case, instituted by Col. Washington, concerning the brutal hanging by the sailors of a woman passenger, believed by them to be a witch, and that she had hoo-dooed their ship, in which Washington was coming over to Virginia, and caused it several times to get on the wrong course. (See Neill's "Virginia-Carolorum," pp. 257–8).

In reply to this request, Col. Washington wrote to the Governor, by his messenger, a note dated 30 Sep., 1659, saying (*ibid*), that it was impossible for him to attend that Court on 4 Oct. following, "because then, [4 Oct. 1659], God willing, I intend to gett my young son baptised. All ye company and Gossips being already invited." [The full text of this letter may be read in vol. XVI, p. 264, this mag.].

Thus, we have virtually the record of the date of the baptism of John, Jr., the youngest son of Col. John Washington, for we may presume he was baptised on 4 Oct., 1659. This being a child of Col. John's first wife, deceased, and born in 1658, before Feb., 1658–9, there may be many causes imagined why he was not baptised before this, or during his mother's lifetime. There are at least two probable reasons worth suggesting. The child's mother may have died giving birth to it, and its father had not yet arrived home from his voyage. John, Jr., was 17 years of age when his father made his will, in which he desired that Thomas Pope, the lad's step-uncle, should "have the care of his bringing up" and educating.

When Col. Washington made his will, dated either 11, or 21 (writing indistinct), Sept., 1675, he named as executors his then wife (Anne [Pope] Brodhurst), his brother Lawrence, who predeceased him, and "my son Lawrence." The date of his death has not been

found. The will was proved, and filed in Westmoreland County Court 10 Jan., 1677–8, by his son and heir, Lawrence (Ann Pope, his wife, not acting for reason hereafter explained), he being the heir, and then of age and naturally had livery of his inheritance, and succeeded his father.

This is another of the reasons why Lawrence could not have been the child of Ann Pope ("her second son" it has been printed), because she and Col. John were married early, probably, in Feb., 1658–9, and Lawrence would have been only 18 or 19 years old in 1677–8, and not of age. Whereas he was born early in 165—, (1655–6), hence was the son of Col. John's first wife, Mrs. Ann Brett.

But the proof that Lawrence, John, and Ann, were the children of Col. John by his first wife is more convincing through the following extracts from the wills of Col. John Washington and his sons, Lawrence and John. See Mr. Ford's "Washington Wills," which may be assumed are reliable copies of the originals (tho his footnotes to them are not always that), or, better, Dr. Toner's copies printed in Waters' "Gleanings in English Wills," pp. 524, &c., and W. and M. Quart., *XIII*, p. 145, will of John Jr.

Col. Washington wrote into his will, on 11 (or 21) of Sept., 1675: "My body to be buried in ye plantation where I now live, by the side of My Wife yt is already buried."

As his second wife (frequently mentioned in this will, and named as one of its executors), Mrs. Ann Brodhurst ("Ann Pope that was") was living, and presumably with him, when he wrote this desire, Col. John could have only referred to his first wife, the Widow Brett, as being the wife, "yt is already buried," before May, 1659. However, his wife, Widow Brodhurst, survived Col. John and died in England, as below.

Lawrence Washington, Col. John's eldest son and

heir, in his will, dated 11 March, 1697–8, desired to be buried "by the side of my father and mother."

Therefore, Col. John Washington was buried as he wished to be, beside his first wife, "already buried" there, in the Washington graveyard, on the homestead plantation, Westmoreland Co., and his son Lawrence was buried next to them, and near several half-brothers and half-sisters.

John Washington, Jr., Col. John's second son, and last child by his first wife, in his will, dated Washington parish, 22 January, 1697–8 (proved 23 Feb. following), desired that his body be "buried by my father and mother and brothers."

These I presume were step-brothers (brother Lawrence being alive), because Mrs. Brett-Washington could not have had more than three children in her short married life with Col. John, unless there were "twins, or better."

Here, we have the proof in two wills that Lawrence and John Jr. were sons of Col. John's first wife, and you will see by the Colonel's will that his daughter, Ann, was also her child, and that their own mother, the wife of Col. John, was buried in the plantation graveyard, before Sep., 1675.

Since, as related below, Washington's second wife (Ann Pope), died in Salop, England, while among her first husband's relatives, and was buried there by them, and there is not the slightest hint of contemporary record, nor likelihood probably, that her body was disinterred and brought to Virginia, by Lawrence's or John Jr.'s order, Lawrence and John were buried by the side of Mrs. Ann Brett-Washington, and were not the sons of (Mrs. Ann Pope) Brodhurst-Washington, and were only step-sons.

Taking up Col. John Washington's will again, read what he says of his children:—"My wife (i. e. his then wife, Ann Pope, who survived him) to have the "bring-

ing up of my daughter, Ann Washington, until my son. Lawrence comes of age."

This item shows the Colonel's particular consideration for his own, and not his and his then wife's, Ann Pope, children. Lawrence at that writing was about 19 years old, and may be presumed to have been so manly and educated that he required no further "bringing up" by anyone, nor was a guardian suggested for him during his minority, in the event that his father might be killed in the Bacon war, or rebellion, or in the coming conflict with the Indians, both threatened at this time, and the Colonel realized he would soon be in active military duty as a commander, hence he made his will.

[It is a rather remarkable coincidence about the two brothers, John and Lawrence Washington, the immigrants, and worthy of note here, that John's will was dated 21 Sept., 1675, and filed in Court on 10 Jan., 1677–8, and that of Lawrence being dated 27 Sep., 1675, was filed in the same Court on 6 Jan., 1677–8.]

Even then, his father realized that young Lawrence would be competent to look after his own young sister, and it would be more natural that he should do so, rather than to be continued at the command of her step-mother, especially at so important period of her young life when there would be wooers acoming. Therefore, it may be assumed, that when his father died, Lawrence, as the head of the House, not only took charge of his sister, without their step-mother having to resign her, he being then of age, which was the condition in the will. Should he not have been of full age, the Court would have been obliged to appoint someone to administer the Colonel's estate until he was, and the Court Order Book shows no such order, hence, again, he could not have been Ann Pope's child.

I think nothing more is needed to identify young Ann as, like Lawrence and John, Jr., a child of Col. John by his first wife, Widow Brett, than the following item

from her father's will. After having given "to my daughter Ann" two tracts of land, containing 1200 and 1400 acres each, he says:—"I give to my say'd Daughter, wch was her mother's desire, and my promise, ye Cash in ye new parlour, & the Diamond ringe, & her Mother's rings, & the white quilt & the white curtains & vallians."

There is still another important item to record here, suggesting about when Lawrence was born, and showing he must have been the child of his father's first wife, and could not have been the son of Ann Pope, the second wife, whom Col. John did not marry till after Jan., 1658–9, and before 11 May, 1659.

In 1679, Mr. Lawrence Washington was appointed one of H. M. Justices of the C. P. Court, the Westmoreland County Court. (ex V. H. M., I., 250), and was still a member in 1682–3 (ex W. & M. Q., IV., 87), and in 1685, when he is styled Captain, (W. & M. Quart., Vol. XV, p. 186), and probably was a captain when young. If Lawrence had been any child, or the first, of Col. Washington by his second wife, Ann Pope, married possibly in Feb., 1658–9, he would have been too young, not even of age, to be a Justice. But as the son of Col. Washington by his first wife, Mrs. Ann Brett, he was 23 or 25 or more years of age, and quite eligible to sit on the Bench, in 1679–80.

II.

WAS COL. JOHN WASHINGTON A BIGAMIST?

Such a query as this is not intended to be a malicious dissemination, as it is intended only as the title of a case stated, the hypothesis being:—When a man and woman live together, and he has acknowledged her as his wife, and, at a certain date, there is evidence that they were then living together in harmony, but in less than eight months afterwards he openly marries another woman,

and the former presumed wife goes abroad, and centuries afterwards there is not found any record of the decree of divorce, legally separating the man from the departed woman, who had been living with him as his wife for about seventeen years, what is the inference?

In our present-day life, we may, under these circumstances, assume the discarded woman was only a "common-law wife," a concubine, and that theirs had not been a legal union, and consequently their issue was illegitimate.

But as to this suppositious statement, and also the query, we are advised, as a counter to it, that we should not judge actions of centuries ago by our present-day methods. Therefore, we should allow there was a separation legally confirmed, a divorce, legally granted and duly recorded somewhere, which evidence has not been discovered up to this time.

As already stated, Major John Washington, of Washington parish, Westmoreland Co., of the church of which he was elected a vestryman in July, 1661, married, when 30 years of age, his second wife, the widow, Ann (Pope) Brodhurst, possibly in Feb., 1658–9, or even later, before May, 1659.

This union, as you shall see, took place before the 11th of May, 1659, when it was acknowledged by Ann's father, but the wedding day is not of record. Ann's former husband signed his will on 26 Jan., 1658–9, and it was presented in Court for probate 12 Feb., 1658–9, but some testamentary proceedings here and in England, in the P. C. C., where it also had to be filed, delayed its filing here till the Nov. term of the Court, 1659. Also on the same date, 12 Feb., 1658–9, Ann's father, Col. Pope, executed a deed to her for land, in which he called her "my daughter Ann Pope Brodhurst," hence, it may be presumed she did not marry John Washington till after this date.

But it looks as if Ann shed her weeds for a veil a very

short time after 26 Jan., 1658–9, or after she had buried Brodhurst, as her father, Lt. Col. Nathaniel Pope, also a planter in Westmoreland Co., in a power of attorney to her about some land, dated 11 May, 1659, as above, styled her "My daughter Ann Pope, *alias* Washington." In his will (which he "marked," for possibly Col. Pope could not write, as all of his extant papers bear only "His Mark"), dated a few days later, or on 16 May, 1659, written just before going to England (proved in Virginia 20 April, 1660), he gave, or rather forgave, "to my son-in-law, John Washington," a debt of eighty pounds money, which John, he said, owed him.

And there is a recorded grant of 700 acres of land in Westmoreland, to Mrs. Ann Pope *alias* Washington, dated 13 June, 1661. [With no intention to suggest anything like it in this case, it may be remarked here that in England, Ireland, and the B. W. I., when there are papers of court record in which the woman living with a man as his wife, "but not parsoned" or married to him, she is described this way in old records, "Mary Smith *alias* Jones," her name and the surname of the man, to identify her.]

After this union, the next great event in the lives of John and Ann was, so far as I know, the christening of John's last child by his first wife (Widow Brett), on 4 Oct., 1659, referred to before, the date of whose birth is unknown.

On the 20th of this month and year, as "Mrs. Ann Brodhurst (she being Major Washington's wife on 11 May, we have seen), she was present in the Westmoreland Court, and as "the relict (but not the widow, because she had married again since his decease), and adm'trix of Mr. Walter Brodhurst, dec'd," sued a Capt. Lefebur for "accommodation," which was "for four months' house roome and dyett of his family." Judgement in favor of "Mrs. Ann Brodhurst," which was

only the half measure of her then identity, but may have then been the legal way.

From now on till he died 17 years later, John Washington, being a man of affairs, was constantly employed in duties as a county justice, a coroner (in August, 1661, when coroner, he and his jury reported to the County Court on their burial of a suicide, saying they had obeyed the Law, and had buried him at a certain spot, "with a stake driven through ye middle of him in his grave"), a burgess and a member of the General Assembly, and commander of the county militia, having been commissioned Lt. Col. 29 Mar., 1673; on 17 Mar., 1674–5, he had been on a commission to employ Indians, and reward them for work, but on 31 August, 1675, this scheme to pacify the savages having failed, he was ordered to organize an expedition against the Indians, and set out to drive them out of the sea-board, and his activity was one of the causes for Bacon's Rebellion, which Col. Washington was active in helping to put down, and it was suppressed early in the Spring of 1677.

You have seen that Col. Washington dated his will on 21 Sep., 1675, and named his then wife as a co-executor. In a general way it could be said "he provided for his wife handsomely," should she survive him. She did survive him, as will be shown. His was but a perfunctory will, so far as she was concerned; a rather cold one. Beside the "widow's third," her dower right in his real estate, which the law guaranteed a wife, and a one-fourth share in his personal estate, he made no mention where, nor how, she should live, which a testator of his time always did for his wife, nor did he mention her in any endearing term as was also the custom. His brother Lawrence, who made his will almost at the same time, was more generous and considerate for his second wife.

By his second wife, Col. Washington seems to have

had several children, possibly four, according to wills. Two evidently died before he wrote his will, as he says two were buried in the Washington graveyard. And his son Lawrence says he has "brothers and sisters" buried in the same ground, and John, Jr., his brother, also says "brothers" buried there. Apparently they died young and unmarried.

Col. Washington we have seen married as first and second wives, two widows, each a "Mrs. Ann B.," and each had a son. Now, you will find that he married, thirdly, while his second wife was living, another widow, and that he was her fourth husband. She, too, survived Col. John, and was his joint-widow and co-relict with his alleged second wife, Ann Pope.

The evidence that Col. Washington did have a third wife, while Ann Pope was alive, may be found in the Westmoreland Co. Court Order Book of the date. This is the customary "Marriage Contract," dated 10 May, 1676, "of Lt. Col. John Washington and Mrs. Frances Appleton, the widow and relict of Captain John Appleton." All of this county.

As the proof that this contract was carried out, there is the following item, also from this Order Book, under date, 26 November, 1677.

"It is ord'r yt Jno Garrard have out of ye Estate of Cap't Jno Appleton, deceas'd, now ye estate of Coll. Jno. Washington, who intermarried with ye Relict of ye sd Appleton, tenn goode breeding cows," &c.

The petitioner and beneficiary under this Court Order was the eldest brother of the lady whom Col. Washington had married the year before, and he surely knew they had married. He had served under Lt. Col. Washington, in the expedition against the Indians, in the Autumn of 1675. He was present at the Court of Inquiry as to the particulars of it, and on 14 June, 1677, testified as to the conduct of his commander, Washington, present in Court, and exonerated him and the Vir-

ginia troops he commanded, from the charge of participating in the execution of Indians when attending a conference with the commanders of the troops.

Col. Washington apparently raised no objection to this order of the Court. Nor did he alter his will, after he married, between its date and filing, Mrs. Frances (Garrard) Speke-Peyton-Appleton, and became her fourth husband.

Col. Washington and Widow Appleton were old friends and neighbors, and he had known all of her husbands intimately, having long served in the same regiment with them. He became her attorney after the death of Captain Appleton, who, was high sheriff of Westmoreland, 1673–4, and was a subscribing witness to Washington's will, but died before 9 May, 1676, when the inventory of his personal estate was filed by his widow. As the latter's attorney, he is of record of having been in Court several times on her behalf.

It is evident that the Widow Appleton was clear and free to marry, in May, 1676. But how about Col. Washington? His second wife, Widow Brodhurst, certainly has to be reckoned with. She must be allowed an exit, for I do not wish to asperse his character, nor hers. He was a gentleman, that must be remembered, and Mrs. Appleton there is no reason to suppose was not his equal. Both seemed rather fond of marrying, and we must admit that the Colonel was no "laggard in love," but he must have been sensible along with this habit, and would scorn to take the risk of a bigamist. Still the query:—How can a man with a wife (his own, of course), marry another woman? The Colonel certainly had a wife of his own, in Sept., 1675, who outlived him, but in the following May, he married another lady, and polygamy had ceased for ages to be fashionable, and was not revived till a couple of centuries later, therefore, how did he get rid of her?

That Mrs. Ann (Pope) Washington, formerly Mrs.

Walter Brodhurst, was alive after Sept., 1675, and survived Col. John Washington, who died before 10 Jan., 1677–8, and after 14 June, 1677, may be seen thru the following items:

Whether it was before, or after, May, 1676, or before, or after, Col. Washington died, and it matters little here when it was, Mrs. Ann (Pope) Brodhurst-Washington went to England to visit her son, Walter Brodhurst, Jr., and her Brodhurst kin residing at Lilleshall, in Salop. And, as it is learned from an English Court record, she hoped to collect a legacy, due her over twenty years from the estate of her Brodhurst father-in-law.

Before sailing, or after reaching England, it matters little which, she executed a power of attorney, dated 18 March, 1677–8, and signed it "Ann Washington," and in which she is described "the widow and relict of Captain John Washington," and qualified Mr. Caleb Butler, a Westmoreland Co. Justice, to collect and remit to her certain debts due her in Maryland and Virginia. This document was filed in this County Court, on 30 March, 1678. As there are only twelve days between the date of writing and of filing this "Power," and considering the time it required then for a ship to cross from England to Virginia, the paper was signed in Virginia, hence, Ann Pope Brodhurst-Washington went to England after, or on the 17 March, 1677–8, which was, of course, after Col. Washington was buried by the side of his first wife, the mother of Lawrence, John, Jr., and Ann.

Ann Pope's description of herself in this paper was rather impertinent; however, we are thankful for the preserving of it, because it tells us that Col. Washington's second wife was alive when he married his third wife, and that Ann Pope survived him.

And, since there is no item yet found showing that Ann had been in England between Sept., 1675, and

March, 1678, this paper also shows that she was divorced from John by a Virginia County Court, or by the General Court. Which of them instituted the suit would be interesting to know, but no one has come across such an item. The action would have been in their home-county, and the Westmoreland Court Order Books, or daily minutes of the proceedings of the courts in session, are perfect and complete, as are also those of the General Courts of these days, as Bacon's Rebellion had ended. Therefore, where's the evidence that John and Ann were divorced?

There is evidence that Washington was a busy man, sometimes in the Assembly, and again in the field with his troops, even up to his third wedding-day, but we know that a great many things can and do happen in eight months, so it may have been in this time, between when Col. John signed his will and then went on his expedition against the Indians, and the filing of the marriage contract, that it was Ann who got busy with the divorce court, and the Colonel made no defense. However, whilst this could have happened, there is no proof that it did. It does not seem possible that the divorce was granted, or even arranged before John wrote his will, because of its contexture. Howsoever, whatsoever, it happened, and Col. Washington was free to marry, and did so about May, 1676, and, as you may have noticed, in no clandestine manner either, because his intention to marry the Widow Appleton was spread upon the Court minutes that anyone might read. And there was his marriage license, too.

No one thinks that Ann Pope, who had been living seventeen years with John Washington, minding her step-children and her own, and possibly being homely in disposition, would not have protested, to put it mildly, in this month of May, 1676, if she did not know that Col. John was free to do as it pleased him when it came to marrying even a thrice relict and widow.

Judging from the arrangement Ann Pope made in March, 1678, about her personal affairs in the colonies, it looks as if she did not intend returning to America. And there was no particular reason why she should delay her departure, or return. Her use as an executor of Washington's will had automatically ceased, when Lawrence entered upon his inheritance, and with him, only a step-son, as the head of the House of Washington in Virginia, as his father's heir. And, too, she had been relieved by him of the "care of bringing up" of his sister Ann, and the bringing up of John, Jr., had been entrusted to her brother, Thomas Pope. But more than anything, she may have realized that she was not a *persona grata* amid the Washingtons and neighbors. Therefore, she went to England.

She died shortly after she reached her destination. The exact date of this event I do not know. Nor do I know when she landed, but of course, it was after 18 March 1677–8.

She was buried, probably at Lilleshall parish church, certainly before 12 April, 1678, because on this date, her son, Walter Brodhurst, Jr., of Lilleshall, Shropshire, was appointed by the Litchfield Diocesan Court, which had jurisdiction over wills, estates, orphans, &c., in the Archdeaconery of Salop, to administer on the personal estate of "his mother, Misstress Ann Washington *alias* Brodhurst, (*sic*), of Washington parish, Westmoreland County, Virginia."

If Ann Pope was divorced from Col. Washington, and there are reasons to hope she was, it was more likely to have been after Washington signed his will than before. The cause of it, of course, I do not know, but, for a conjecture, it may have been because of the will. But what we are also interested in is the suggestion all thru it that John had really married Ann Pope, and he knew, if she survived him she would be his widow and

relict before the law, for, wherever he gave land to a child he excepted Ann's dower right.

When the Bacon uprising got afoot, Col. Washington hired a sloop and sent his cattle, horses, &c., into Maryland to save them from raiders. When the rebel commander learned this he issued a warrant dated 21 Oct., 1676, ordering one of his officers, one Mannering, to go to Washington's plantations and prevent their removal, or "to cease ye sloope yt shall in anytime attempt yt takeing of goods belonging to sd Washington or any other delinquent yt are fleed fayle not hereof." Subsequently, Mannering, was captured and parolled on giving bond dated 19 June, 1677. Before a commission investigating the conduct of many of those who had been rebels, a Mr. Arminger made an affidavit, dated 26 July, 1677, telling of Mannering's visit in Oct., 1676, to Col. Washington's house, and said "Madam Washington sd to ye sd Mannering, 'if you were advised by your wife, you need not acome to this passe' "; that is, being in disgrace. As this visit occurred in Oct., 1677, it was Mrs. Frances Washington speaking.

Simply because the usual records of the lawful marriage of Col. John Washington and Ann Pope Brodhurst, and the decree of their divorce cannot be found, it would not be fair to assume, or presume she had not legally married John (early in 1659), when I have cited contemporary items suggesting, if not actually proving, she had. And it would be unfair to both John and Ann to doubt they were legally separated (between Sep., 1675, and May., 1676), for John's third marriage was no secret, as contemporary items cited show. Therefore, it may be assumed that John Washington was not a bigamist. The ancient "Scotch verdict" is more appropriate to the question of John's marriage (and divorce) with Ann Pope, than to this conclusion.

III.

THE LEGITIMATION OF COL. JOHN WASHINGTON.

When Mr. Waters discovered the evidence proving that Col. John Washington, of Virginia, was "the eldest son of the Rev. Lawrence Washington, A.M., (Oxon)," sometime the rector of the Purleigh parish church, Essex, England, it was the consensus of genealogists he had accomplished something worthwhile.

But when Mr. Stanard subsequently discovered the evidence proving that Col. John Washington was born in the year 1629, he started a lot of genealogical trouble because his find either made a mare's nest of Mr. Waters' discovery, or that Col. Washington was born out of wedlock, thus placing him in the illegitimate class.

The following are the facts as to both of these statements. My intention is to try to legitimate Col. Washington, and you will see what is required to do so. Contemporary circumstantial evidence, based on incidents, or presumptive evidence, in this case would not be sufficient, being secondary, to overcome the demonstrative internal evidence. There must be material evidence and proof that the Rev. Mr. Washington married before his eldest son and first child was born.

The will of a Mr. Andrew Knowling was found by Mr. Waters and printed in his valuable book, "Gleanings in English Wills," pp. 364 and 386, of vol. I. it is dated at Tring, in Hertfordshire, 13 Jan., 1648-9, and signed with his "mark." He had considerable property, and had married the widow of John Roades, the mother of children by her first husband.

It was through the finding of Mr. Knowling's will, that Mr. Waters claimed he was enabled to bring to a positive conclusion, in 1889, the search for the parents of Col. John Washington, which quest had been going on intermittingly since in 1791, and then identified Col.

John's father in the family of Washington of Sulgrave, therefore, what I say of Col. John's pedigree is on Waters' information.

In his will, Knowling mentioned relatives of his wife, and her children, his step-children. Among the latter was "Mrs. Amphillis Washington," who had six children, also named by Knowling. But while he named many persons, he did not mention the name of Amphillis' husband, nor mention him in any way, which seems rather strange. However, one may imagine a lot of reasons, and in a case of this kind, one guess may be as good as another, and mine is, Knowling was a Cromwellian, and Mr. Washington was a rabid Royalist, and the Civil War was at its worst then, and the king was executed only seventeen days after Knowling made his will.

The names of the six Washington children as given by Knowling, were so suggestive of the Virginia Washingtons, that it started Waters on his quest for their father's name is interestingly told by him.

By the address of Knowling's will, he was first attracted to Tring. Here he found two of these children were baptised at the parish church as the children of "Mr. Lawrence Washington." He decided, as this father was styled "Mr.," he was a minister. Eventually, as he found that a "Rev. Lawrence Washington" had been employed at the Church Court at Wheathampstead, near Tring, at the time Knowling made his will, and later, he felt sure he had found the husband of Amphillis, and the father of her children, which idea was strengthened by the fact that one of them was designated in the will as "Lawrence Washington the younger," as though to distinguish him from his father of the same name, the others being named in it as John, William, Elizabeth, Margaret and Martha Washington.

From the records of the University of Oxford and one of its colleges, Brasenose, it was easy to get infor-

mation as to the early life, some of it anyway, of the Rev. Lawrence Washington, which is proper to repeat in this article. He was born in 1602, at Brington Manor, Northamptonshire, and entered Brasenose College as a student, when 17 years of age, but did not sign as such till 2 Nov., 1621. He graduated and received the A.B. degree 10 May, 1623, and on 27 May, 1623, he was elected to the Darbie Fellowship in Brasenose, and became a Fellow for ten years of this college, from which he received the A. M. degree, 1 Feb., 1625–6. In the following year he was appointed his college lector, and on August 26, 1631, he was elected the proctor of the University of Oxford.

On 10 March, 1632–3, "his grace for the B.D. degree was passed on," and on 4 April, 1633, "he informed Brasenose College that he was to be inducted in a benefice." And, on 30 Nov., 1633, he resigned his Fellowship in Brasenose College, having previously resigned as the University proctor.

The Rev. Mr. Washington, on 14 March, 1633–4, entered upon his duties as the rector of the church of the parish of Purleigh, in the deanery of Malden, Co. of Essex. Thus, Mr. Washington was removed to the most easterly of the tier of adjoining counties, Oxford, Bucks, Herts and Essex, with which you shall see he was associated.

What was the influence Mr. Washington had to have this living, a fairly good one, given to him by Jane Horsmanden, of Purleigh, is not in evidence. Nor is the reason, when he entered into it, why he did not take his wife and family with him to the rectory, than to place them nearly a two days' horseback journey away from him in the village of Tring, in Herts. May be she preferred it; her mother and step-father having resided there, and some relatives were still there. Mr. Washington, too, must have been acquainted with the place, and this may have been the residence of

Amphillis since the birth of her first child. Mr. Washington's acquaintance with the place may be accounted for this way. A distant relative by marriage, of his father, Sir Robert Anderson, Knt., resided in a manor house near Tring, which he bought from Sir Francis Verney, in 1607, and Lawrence may have visited him when a college student, as Sir Robert, who was buried at the Tring church, in 1632, in his will, dated 5 Oct., 1630, remembered him with a legacy: "to my cousin, Lawrence Washington, of Bras Nose College, forty shillings," which was a generous gift, since it was only Sir Robert's wife who was a cousin of Lawrence's father, and it suggests he knew Lawrence well.

There is little information about Mr. Washington after he became the rector of Purleigh till his last year. There was a case in the Chancery Court, under date of 20 Oct., 1640, which shows that an Oxford storekeeper had entered suit, away back in July, 1633, against "Mr. Lawrence Washington, clerk, of Purleigh," for £69.18, balance due for furniture and clothing sold to him "when a student at Braz Nose College." Washington's defence was that he had paid the man all he had owed him in installments, in May, 1633, and May, 1636. Our particular interest in this case, rather an interesting one, but too intricate to go into here, is the title description of the defendant, because it clearly identifies the Purleigh rector with the student and Fellow of Brasenose, for there is no record of any other Lawrence Washington having attended any college of Oxford University, 1619–1634.

In Nov., 1643, the Rev. Mr. Washington was ejected from his charge, the parish church of Purleigh. This happened during the Civil War, and was one of Cromwell's measures for silencing "Rabid Royalists." This was the primal objection or charge as to our minister, but it was printed that he was "a drunkard and tavern loafer," and not fit to have charge of a parish,

however, the Rev. Washington had plenty of company under such charges. What Mr. Washington did after this to support himself and his alleged (by Mr. Waters) family, a wife and six children, does not appear.

Along in 1649, it may be imagined that his wife was in need of some assistance, as on 15 August, 1649, the Committee on aid to "Plundered Ministers," victims of Cromwell, ordered the then rector of Purleigh parish, Washington's old charge, "to pay one-fifth of the tithes "to Mrs. Washington, the [former] rector's wife."

Early in 1648–9, Mr. Washington is found employed as the surrogate in the office at Wheathampstead, Herts, of the Archdeacon's Court. And as surrogate, 29 Jan., 1648–9, he wrote the bond of the guardians of two orphans, his alleged wife's nieces, daughters of a tallow chandler, legatees in the 1649 will of Mr. Knowling, and signed it with his full name, and also his Oxford degrees, and then official position. This was the only connection "the Rev. Lawrence Washington, clerk," had with the will of his alleged (Waters) wife's step-father.

When the commission aided "Mrs. Washington," it is possible it also did something for the former rector. A salaried position may have been found for him in or near Malden, Essex, as "he died and was buried here at All Saints' Church," its register entry being:—"Mr. Lawrence Washington, buried 21 Jan., 1652." It was too far away for him to be buried at Tring. No particulars of his death are known.

As evidence that the Rev. Lawrence Washington, 1602–1652, A.M., B.D., (Oxon), of Tring and Purleigh, was a son, the fourth, of Lawrence Washington, Esq., lord of Brixton, or Brington manor, Northamptonshire, and his wife, Margaret Butler, married at Aston le Wells, 3 August, 1580, I shall use a few of the interesting wills collected by Mr. Waters, for his book. q. v.

But first we have the record of Lawrence, Jr.'s matriculation at Brasenose College, 2 Nov., 1621:—"Laurent Washington, Northamp., gen. fil., an. nat. 19." Which is, he was 19 years old, and the son of a gentleman of Northants.

Then next, we find this item connecting him definitely with the Washingtons of Brington:—Robert Washington, brother to the lord of Brington, (died in 1616), was buried at Brington, 10 March, 1621–2. His widow, Elizabeth Washington, died 19 March, 1622–3, leaving a will, dated 17 March, 1622–3, in which she named many legatees, principally her late husband's nephew and nieces, called "cousins," the children of his deceased brother Lawrence, among them Sir William, Mrs. Mewce, Alice and Frances Washington, "my cousin Pill," and "To my cousin, Lawrence Washington, who is nowe at Oxford, my husband's seal ringe."

The will of the above mentioned Mrs. Elizabeth Mewce, widow, residing in County Middlesex, near London, dated 11 Aug., 1676, of her legatees are her sisters:—Lady Washington, Mrs. Alice Sandys, and Mrs. Frances Gargrave, and her husband, Mr. Robert Gargrave, and their five children; her uncles, Mr. Robert Washington, brother of Mr. Washington, of Brington, and Mr. Francis Pargiter, father-in-law of Sir John Washington; her nephews, William Pill and Roger Thornton; and her nieces, Mrs. Margaret Stevenage, and two children; Mrs. Frances Collins, Mrs. Elizabeth Rumball, and Mrs. Penelope Thornton, and five children.

The will of Lady Dorothy (Pargiter) Washington, widow of Sir. John Washington (a son of Mr. Lawrence Washington, of Brington), dated 6 Oct., 1678, mentions Mrs. Penelope Thornton aforesaid, as her daughter, and this assures us that Mrs. Mewce was a daughter of the lord of Brington manor, Northants.

No brother or sister of Lawrence Washington in their extant wills mentions him after he became a clergyman, or his wife and children. It was a large family, some children died young, some unmarried, some adults died intestate. Those who left wills were well off, and may not have felt any interest in the struggling minister, who, himself, seems to have been a rather independent character, even when a student, of the classics or of theology, and certainly when ejected.

This brings me up to an interesting time of the Rev. Lawrence Washington's early life, while a student, especially as to when, where, or how he made the acquaintance of "Amphillis Roades, or Roads; the mother of his children." But as to when and where they were married, I am sorry I can only say that to be able to answer this question, the most expert of genealogical searchers, most persistent men and women, plodders in old records, for years, have looked, and looked, and looked in vain, to find even some slight clew, or item, relative to it. Yet some day, such an item may turn up. Many have in the years many of these same genealogists have been dead, that have given a new twist to their statements and deductions, especially in the "Washington Genealogy." "WATCH YOUR STEP," is a well-known sign everywhere. "Watch your genealogical 'step'," should be a good one to hang before him and her on their desks when writing Family History.

In 1620, Sir Edward Verney (he and Thomas Washington, a brother of the Rev. Lawrence, served together in the household of Prince Charles), brother to Sir Francis mentioned before, purchased the large manor of Middle Claydon, in Co. Bucks, which was near to the University of Oxford, in the next county, and died in 1643, leaving a will, dated 26 March, 1639. Among his sundry legatees he gave "to my servant, John Roades, at Middle Claydon, an annuity of ten pounds for life."

John Roades was above an ordinary "servant," yet

he was such. He was evidently the head-farmer, or the superintendent of the manor, because he is of record as being Sir Edward's bailiff, or deputy sheriff, in 1639. His son, William Roades, was a witness to Sir. Edward's will, and succeeded his father as chief farmer of this manor, before 1648, as Andrew Knowling, aforesaid, had married his mother, widow of the said John Roades, before Jan., 1649, when Knowling made his will, and made William, his step-son, and brother of Mrs. Amphillis Washington, his step-daughter, legatees, therefore, William was uncle to Col. John Washington, and John Roades was one of his grandfathers, his other being, of course, the prominent Lawrence Washington, Esq., the lord of the manor of Brixton, or Brington. William Roades made his will 19 Sep., 1657, and was buried on the 29th, at Finmoor Hill, about 2 miles from Middle Claydon), but did not mention his sister, Amphillis Washington, nor her husband, nor their issue. In fact, neither did Amphillis' sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Fitzherbert, in her will, dated 23 Feb., 1684, (her step-nephew, John Freeman, was her executor, having married at Luton, 4 April, 1668, Esther, a daughter of Amphillis' brother, William Roads), but which is not surprising, because this Washington family was nearly all dead.

When Lawrence Washington was an Oxford student, the son and heir of this Sir Edward Verney was also. It is quite possible they were well enough acquainted for young Verney to take Washington home with him on holidays, or week-ends (anyway, Lawrence's elder brother, Thomas, had been a page with Sir Edward in the household of Prince Charles, while in Spain, in 1623, and Lawrence was not a stranger), and when at Middle Claydon he met Amphillis Roades, the farmer's daughter, in some natural way that young people have, and we may imagine what happened next, as we know the sequel. [Sir Edward had a younger son, of whom

it is related in "Virginia Carolorum," pp. 108–111, that he "married beneath him," and as punishment, his parents shipped him to the Virginia colony].

This romantic affair at Middle Claydon certainly happened before the year 1629, as it was in this year, or in 1628–9, or in 1629–30, Amphillis gave birth to her first child, who was named John, whom you have seen became our Virginia Colonel (who had some romances of his own), who was about five years old when his father became rector of Purleigh.

As evidence of the date of Col. John Washington's birth-date, there is the following Court item. Some years ago (but years after the "true Washington pedigree," authenticated, signed and printed, in sundry ways), Mr. Stanard, editor of the Va. Mag. of His., discovered and printed this good newsy item: "In a deposition dated 1674, and recorded in the Westmoreland County Court Order Book, Col. John Washington stated he was then forty-five (45) years of age."

This is not exactly all the facts connected with this important item. The affidavit was a part of the court proceedings when the will of a Richard Cole was presented in Court for probate. Washington's deposition, beginning:—"Col. John Washington, aged 45 years, or thereabouts, declared," &c.

This deposition is undated, but it could be no later than the date of the item that follows it; but as it is recorded between two items both dated, that is, next after one dated "5 Jan'y, 1675", (1674–5), and followed by one dated "12 Feb'y, 1674–5," it may be presumed that John was then aged 44–45, or 45–46, and born in 1628–29, or in 1629–30, or, as a compromise, in 1629.

Richard, or "Dick" Cole, at the proving of whose will Washington testified, was a queer character (see W. M. Quart., IV, p. 30). His abusive tongue spared few of his acquaintances. Of John Washington, it is reported he said: "He's an ass, negro-driver," whom he would

have up before the governor and council, "as a Companie of Caterpillar fellowes," who "live upon my bills of export," or foreign exchange.

But not everyone was glad to know what this item told. For one, Dr. Tyler, the editor of the W. and M. Quar., who asked the appropriate question:—"As John Washington was born in 1629, what becomes of the Washington Pedigree, saying that John was the son of the Rev. Lawrence Washington, who was the proctor of Oxford University, in 1631, presumably unmarried then."

The approximation of the birth-date of Col. Washington is a more serious discovery than a gratifying one, for it opens up controversy over an unpleasant question. But it is only one of the peculiar situations that turn up in genealogy once in a while to puzzle its writers, for a genealogist's work is not one of all thrills; he is often up against ugly propositions which have to be handled with consideration.

Dr. Tyler, as above said, only thought that John's 1629 birth-date ruined Mr. Waters' claim to have discovered John's parentage and his long line of paternal ancestry, this, because the Rev. Lawrence Washington, 1602–1652, could not have been the proctor of the University of Oxford and also have a wife, which was contrary to University rules, at the time, seeing that John was born while his alleged father was the proctor.

In order to have authoritative information upon this alleged University rule, and an opinion on the speculation which was started by the acquaintance with it, a vital one to Col. John's pedigree, but more so to the morality of his parents, I stated the case to one of the Oxford Uni. officials, who should be familiar with its laws and customs, ancient as well as modern.

He replied confirming in the main Dr. Tyler's statement, by giving a different version as proof, saying: "Mr. Lawrence Washington, on 27 May, 1623, was

elected to a Darbie Fellowship at Brasenose, and, as a Fellow, he would necessarily be unmarried." "He resigned his Fellowship on 30 Nov., 1633." "The Proctorship is a University office; not a College office. Lawrence Washington was elected the proctor of the University on 26 August, 1631, he being at that time a Fellow of Brasenose College," [and "necessarily" a bachelor, of course.]

We have from this first-hand information, Lawrence Washington, being, so far as the college was aware, an unmarried man in the ten years he was a privileged student at Brasenose, he being a Fellow, was the father of a child born before 30 Nov., 1633, when he resigned from the Fellowship, and before 23 June, 1635, when his apparently second child was baptised Lawrence.

Therefore, it may be assumed this Brasnose Fellow married clandestinely the farmer's daughter, and had a child by her while she resided at . . . . I know not where, while he passed himself off in college as a bachelor, and pursued his theological studies, and prepared himself for the ministry, on the principle, "Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth."

Lawrence certainly married out of his social class, which was no crime, nor even a novelty in his class, yet it was not a match that would please his aristocratic family, which was allied to many families holding prominent positions in the social world. It may have been because of this mesalliance that Lawrence seems to have been "dropped" by his family. But I have no excuse for the Roades people ignoring him.

Of the six children of Lawrence and Amphillis Washington (for she was twice styled "Mrs. Washingon" in 1649, as above):

1. John Washington, born "*circa* 1629," as above. He went to Virginia, probably after his father's death, in 1652, as he was apparently a Captain of Northumber-

land Co. militia, before he was commissioned Major in the Westmoreland regiment, 4 April, 1655, and, in spite of higher ranks attached, was sometimes called Captain, and even so by his second wife, after his death, in her document of 1678. It used to be thought that he was the John who was at Bermuda in 1654, as stated in the will of Theodore Pargiter, but as Pargiter calls him "cousin John Washington in Bermuda," it seems more reasonable to place him as Sir John's second son John, since his mother, mentioned above, was Theodore's sister.

Another reason why it may be presumed with confidence that John Washington came to Virginia to reside, possibly earlier than 1652, or when he was 21, is suggested by the following: Whenever he came, he settled in the thriving county of Northumberland, a large county (which included the site of Washington city), and in that part of it from which the new county of Westmoreland was formed by an Act of Assembly in 1652–3, and was represented by two Burgesses in the Assembly of 1654. By another Act, 1654–5, it was ordered that original parishes should be relayed, surveyed and renamed. The old parish in which Captain Washington had his residence was renamed in his honor Washington parish, which surely should be almost convincing that John Washington had lived here years, and was not only a popular citizen, but a man, tho young, noted as a leader in public affairs.

2. Lawrence Washington, "the younger," as called in Mr. Knowling's will. He was their first child of record in the Tring parish register:—"Christened, on Our Lady's Day, 1635, Layaranc sonn of Layrance Washington." He was named as the residuary legatee of his estate by Mr. Knowling, his mother's step-father, in his will, 1649, he being Mr. Knowling's god-son. It has been thought that he was sometime a merchant at Luton, in Bedfordshire, before his removal to Virginia,

where he certainly was in May, 1659, as he was one of the subscribing witnesses, with his brother John, to the will of Col. Pope, at this date.

There was a Lawrence Washington, a merchant, at Luton, with whom Virginians had some dealings, and he could have been the son of Amphillis, the merchant being identified otherwise, but there is no positive evidence connecting Amphillis' son, Lawrence, with Luton as a merchant such as there is which identifies this son, and his brother, John, with her. There is evidence that he returned shortly to England and went to Luton, where he married at the parish church, 26 Jan., 1660, his first wife, Mary, daughter of Edmund Jones, of Luton, and brought her to Virginia, several years later, (some accounts say in 1667), and after the baptism of their child, recorded at the parish church, Luton, "Mary Washington, daughter of Mr. Lawrence and Mary," 22 Dec., 1663. Mary is mentioned in the wills of her grandfather Jones, 8 March, 1682, and her father, 1675.

Apparently, aside from these items connecting him with Luton, it is presumed he was influenced to settle there by the following two original, or further, reasons, (1), his mother's sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Fitzherbert, of Much Maltham, Essex, had acquaintance and interests in Luton, and (2), his cousin, Mrs. Esther Freeman, his uncle William Roades' daughter, resided at Luton.

Lawrence's earliest grant of Virginia land of record, is for 700 acres (in Stafford Co.), dated 27 Sep., 1667; his brother John was granted 5000 acres, same date and locality. Lawrence became a planter, died in Virginia, a few days before his brother John died, leaving a will and issue by two wives.

3. Elizabeth Washington. She was baptised at the Tring church, 17 August, 1636, and entered on the register as "daughter of Mr. Layarance Washington." [This is the only instance found (unless the "Mr. Law-

rence Washington," buried at Malden, Essex, in 1652, is proved to have been the husband of Amphillis, which has not been done yet, is another), where Amphillis' husband is styled "Mr."]. She is named in the will, 1697, of Mrs. Martha Hayward, of Virginia, as "my eldest sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Rumbold, in England."

It is not known when or where she married, nor has the name of her husband been found. It may be she did not marry in London, as her sister Margaret did, as she is not in the printed London marriage license lists. It is quite possible that her husband may have been a Hertfordshire man, because there were in her day, and from early times, Rumbold families in Herts. However, families of Rumbold, Rumbould, Rumboldz, Rambold, Rombolde, &c., are of record in Elizabeth's time in many English shires. Nothing further of her is known.

For a good reason, as will appear below, it is proper to notice here some of the Rumbold families in Herts. In 1316, a Nicholas Rumbaud, served on a jury at an Inq. P. M., and 1437, a James Rumbolde served in this county on the same kind of a jury. In 1567, a John Rumbold bought a farm in North Mimms parish from the Crown, and in 1606, John and Robert Rumbold were tenants of Clothall manor, and in 1670, there was a Rumbold family living in Walkhorne parish, and so on.

A member of a Rumbold family of Herts, long residing at the purchased manor of Woodhall, was created a baronet. An early member of his family, William Rumbold, was "controller of the great wardrobe," to Charles I., and surveyor-general of all the customs of England. Another Hertfordshire Rumbold worthy was that Colonel Richard Rumbold, born in 1622, who resided at "Rye House," a farm in Stanstead-Abbot parish, this county. He was one of the gentlemen who was captured after much trouble in finding him, tried

and executed, after being found guilty of high treason, in 1683, for conspiring to murder King Charles II., and his brother James. His home, where he assembled his fellow conspirators, gave name to this historic plot. His son, Thomas Rumbold, Generosus" (the keeper of the Rose Tavern, at Cambridge), was buried at Royston parish church, Herts.

4. Margaret Washington. There is no record of her baptism at the Tring parish church, but she was born in or about 1638–9, as learned from her marriage license, from which we also learn she was living in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Field, Middlesex county, near London, when she married.

The printed abstract of her marriage license runs:— Margaret Washington, age 24 years, of St. Giles in the Field, Middlesex, and George Talbott, of the same, bachelor, gent., age 26 years. To be married at the same parish. Nothing further is known of her, excepting she is mentioned in the will of Mrs. Martha Hayward, as "my other sister, Mrs. Margaret Talbut," in England, (1697).

5. William Washington. He was baptised at the Tring church, 14 Oct., 1641. His father's name was not recorded. This is all that is known of him. He may have died young and unmarried, tho not again mentioned in the church register, beginning in 1584.

A careless blunder is made in Burke's "Visitations of Seats and Arms," in England (1852), in saying that Sir William Washington, of Packington manor, was this William, and "brother to John and Lawrence Washington, the Virginia immigrants." He was the brother of Sir John, the Rev. Lawrence, Mrs. Mewce, et al.

6. Martha Washington. Her birth and baptism not of Tring parish church record. From her statements in her will, 1697, she was apparently the youngest daughter and last child of Lawrence and Amphillis.

Col. John Washington, of Virginia, mentions her particularly in his will, 1675, saying:—"To my sister, Martha Washington, ten pounds out of the money I have in England, and whatever she should be owing to me for transporting herself into this country, and a year's accommodation after coming, and 4000 pounds of tobacco and cask." She came to Virginia and married a Mr. Hayward, and died here, leaving a will, written in Stafford Co., Va., 6 May, 1697, and proved 28 Dec. following. This will was found by Mr. Ford among papers at the Federal Dept. of State, and, as stated below, was of great value to Mr. Waters, in completing his Washington pedigree.

After giving legacies to a number of Virginia cousins, she enjoined her executors "with all convenient speed send to England to my eldest sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Rumbold, a Tunne of good weight Tobacco." [This commodity at that time was equivalent to our money, and was the only "cash" the colony had in circulation.] She also instructed that her executors:—"Doe likewise take freight and for England to my other sister, Mrs. Margaret Talbut, a Tunne of good weight of Tobacco."

An extant letter of John Washington (a son of Lawrence, the immigrant), dated Virginia, 22 June, 1699, to his half-sister, Mrs. Mary Gibson, of Hawnes, Bedfordshire (her father had given her all of his estate in England, by his will), mentions a letter from her to "my aunt Howard," as the surname Hayward was pronounced in Virginia.

By this, to me, accurate arrangement of the succession of the recorded issue of Lawrence and Amphillis Washington, it seems that the hiatus between the birth dates of their first child, John, "born in 1629," and Lawrence, their first child of church record, born in 1635, appears somewhat irregular (but then "you can never tell!" The unexpected happens as regularly as

the expected), compared with the records of the rest of the brood.

Mrs. Amphillis (Roades) Washington, died at home, in the village of Tring, and was buried at Tring parish church, 16 Jan., 1654–5, according to the church record, and it is possible that all of her children were at the funeral.

On 8 Feb., 1654–5, about a month after the funeral, letters of administration on the personal estate of Mrs. Washington, by the Archdeacon's Court, at Wheathampstead, Herts, "to John Washington, the eldest lawful and natural son of Amphillis Washington, late of Tring, dec'd." "He being first sworn, deposed," &c. This valuable item settles three things. Amphillis' son John was then of full age, 21 years, as was necessary, so that he could qualify as administrator. That he was present in person in this Diocesan Court, on this date, 8 Feb., 1654–5, and that he must have returned shortly to Virginia, to personally receive his commission, on 4 April, 1655, promoting him from a captain to a major of the Westmoreland regiment, at the time that Thomas Speke (the first husband of Washington's third wife), was appointed its colonel, and Nathaniel Pope (Washington's second father-in-law), its lieut. col. The appointment of John Washington to be the major of the first regiment organized in this new county, shows he had been well established in the county of Northumberland, from which it was formed, for several years at least, and was a man of affairs, and popular in the county, where shortly the parish in which he resided was given his surname. It was not remarkable that he should have been in England when his mother died, it was only a coincidence, and this was his first trading voyage abroad, under Col. Pope, a business he followed on his own account for many years after this, and in this way, "came to Virginia" in several different years.

You have seen that Lawrence Washington, A. B., 1623, A. M., 1626, remained at the University as a theological student, preparing for the ministry, and received the B. D. degree, 10 March, 1632–3. And that from 27 May, 1623, when he was elected, till 30 Nov., 1633, when he resigned it, he was a Fellow of Brasenose College, and "necessarily unmarried." The college Fellowships of Lawrence's time, were still governed by feudal and monkish requirements and regulations, which had been enforced ever since there were colleges and fellowships in Great Britain and the continent. These ancient fellowships, regulations and customs were unchanged at Oxford University till in 1852, when they were revised and modified to conform more with modern customs and comforts.

Under the olden time Fellowship rules, to be elected a Fellow, the candidate had to be a graduate of the college that controlled the Fellowship he desired to join, and agree to continue to be a student in some special course. The advantages it would give a Fellow over ordinary students and the undergraduates were many, because he had more privileges. Another important feature was he was a co-partner in the Fellowship fund, and even in the college revenue, which was a great help to a poor student. Such advantages made them the aristocrats of the college world. Tho freer in his movements, he still had to conform with the fundamental college laws, as well as those of his Fellowship. The one law, passed on for centuries, that particularly interests us, is the one that a college student, an undergraduate or a post-graduate, must be and remain a bachelor while connected with the University and his college. Naturally, this was the *sine qua non* of the Fellowships, for the Fellow was only a higher grade college student, therefore, a Fellow was "necessarily unmarried." And one other rule was, should a Fellow while pursuing his studies, and enjoying the Fellow-

ship, receive a salaried position, he must resign from his Fellowship, and should a Fellow marry, he also must resign. Since the ancient laws have been made more liberal, students may marry, and a married man can become, by special permission, members of a Fellowship, also Fellows may marry, if they get the permission, but not otherwise. A married Fellow, at Cambridge, is called a Fellow Commoner, and at Oxford, a Gentleman Commoner. These married Fellows are obliged to pay extra "to common," that is to dine with the regular Fellows at their table, the latter being known as the Dons of the college, while the married students who are Fellows, are Demi Dons.

Lawrence Washington we know was a Fellow. Was he married while a Fellow? When he got a salaried position he resigned from the Fellowship, for he could not hide that fact. We have seen that in paying his debts, he was an honorable man, and in this other matter he had nothing to conceal.

If it was not that it was certainly possible for Lawrence Washington, B. D., after he resigned from his Fellowship, to marry and have a child born to him, before Lawrence, Jr., was born, then the 1629 bugaboo deserved the prominence I have given it. But even with Mr. Washington's schedule satisfactory, there seems to be no way of being able to eliminate the ugly thing *toto cœlo* as I should like to, by exposing it as fake item, a forgery and counterfeit, and the figuring on it is after all, only amusement, but it is certainly the proper thing to do.

For instance, John Washington's undated deposition, in which he gives his then age, I have said, has position in the Order Book of the Court, between two dated items, showing it should have been dated Feb., 1673–4. In this deposition, made under oath presumably, he says his age is "45, or thereabouts." We understand "thereabout" to mean near to, or close to. He might

have said, if pushed for a definite answer, aged 44 or 43, (and may have gone further up the gamut of age); but what consolation does this bring? It only places his birth in either 1628–9, or 1629–0, or 1630, or 1631, according as reckoned by O. S. or N. S. In any of these years, Lawrence Washington was "necessarily unmarried."

Again, it may have been in 1674 that "thereabouts" meant time within the fourth decade, "between 40 and 50 years of age," and "45" was the compromise date. But John, in 1674, should have been only 40, to satisfy us. Since it was possible for Mr. Washington to have married openly in Dec., 1633, and son John to have been born in August, 1634, and followed by the birth of his brother Lawrence, Jr. (tho we do not have the date of his birth; only that of his baptism), in June, 1635. With John "born August, 1634," he would be old enough in 1655, to have gone to Virginia, become a militia captain, the supercargo for Pope, of Virginia, and his mother's administrator, and we would have been satisfied. But this "Again" idea is too utopian to be accepted seriously. The Court matter in which Col. Washington's name appeared, was not a personal one, nor had his age any bearing whatever on it, therefore, his statement of his age was not a false pretense, as the giving of his age was only a matter of form.

Probably the last chance of the reduction of "45" might be found in the original entry in the Court record. But this has been tried, and "45, or thereabouts," is the correct reading of the entry.

Now what, may I ask, will enable us to exclaim: "Colonel, you were wrong. You were only 39, or 40 years old in Feb., 1673–4?

In conclusion, I have this to say to Washington descendants, there are some features apparent in what I have reported, which are worthy of more prominence, but as they wipe out the stigma the Rev. Lawrence

seems to be under, they separate them, for a while probably, from the long Washington pedigree.

While here is proof aplenty that Lawrence was a son of the lord of Brington, and became a Fellow, a proctor, a B. D., &c., at Oxford, and then the rector of Purleigh, 1634–1643, and a diocesan surrogate, 1648–9, there is no proof that this minister was the husband of Amphillis Roades, or that he was the father of the children baptised at Tring church, or that he had ever resided there, or that he was the Lawrence Washington buried at Malden church.

It is only assumed that the Lawrence Washingtons who are styled "Mr." once only on the Tring parish register, and once on that of Malden, are identical with the rector of Purleigh, because a minister was thus entitled in the records of that period, but that is not enough, for to his name it was the custom to write the suffix "clerk" (especially if a B. D., Oxon.), his legal appellation in the Church of England. This may be seen in the above-mentioned Chancery suit, 1640, where he is "Mr." and "clerk." The designation of "Mr." was not sufficient to identify a man as a cleric, because, for one reason, the school teacher was styled "Master" then, and this title was abbreviated into "Mr."

Nor is there proof that the father of the children baptised at Tring, was the Lawrence Washington buried at Malden. The latter was buried in 1652, and you have read there was a Mrs. Washington whom a Commission made a beneficiary of the church and parish the Rev. Lawrence Washington was ousted from by the Cromwellians. As it was in August, 1649, it was decided to aid "the wife of the Rector" who had been "plundered," and you have seen he was a surrogate in the previous Jan. I should not be surprised if it was found sometime that this lady asking aid was then his widow, and that the former rector died between Jan.,

1648–9, and August, 1649, and that the lady was not Amphillis.

It can be seen there is good proof that the Virginians, Col. John, Lawrence and Martha Hayward, were children of Mrs. Amphillis Washington of Tring, and that "Mr. Lawrence Washington," also of Tring, 1635–41, (and several years later, it may be assumed, because two children were born after 1641), was their father, but proof is certainly required to establish that he and the minister were one and the same man.

In 1893, Mr. Waters was positive he had finished at last his many years' quest satisfactorily, by placing, as he expressed it, the right keystone in his "Washington arch," when he used the information found in the Martha Hayward will. In 1886, he had no hope nor expectation he ever would complete his undertaking, which was to justify his theory that the Rev. Lawrence Washington of Purleigh, was the husband of Amphillis, and the father of Col. John of Virginia, for he knew, as well as any of the critics of his Washington work, its weakness, namely, the lack of proper proof positive to establish beyond doubt that "the Rev. Lawrence Washington, clerk," of Purleigh, and the "Mr. Lawrence Washington" of Tring, were identical. This was his theorem, and the following items his sole proof, which he was sure made a perfect "keystone" to bind and make his perfect "arch."

One of these items is from the will of Mrs. Martha Hayward, sister of Col. John Washington, in which she mentions "my sister, Mrs. Elizabeth *Rumbold,* in England." The other item being from the will of Mrs. Mewce, a sister of the Rev. Lawrence Washington, in which she mentions "Elizabeth *Rumball,* my niece."

Mr. Waters was quick to jump at the pleasant conclusion that the two named Elizabeths were the same person, because "their surnames were the same," altho

written differently, one "Rumbold," the other "Rumball," one being the accidental perversion of the other, but he did not go so far as to venture which should be the correct surname for both.

Being self-convinced of this, he sees that Amphillis' "Mrs. Elizabeth Rumbold," being the niece of Mrs. Mewce, "Mrs. Rumbold" only could have been the daughter of Mrs. Mewce's brother, the rector of Purleigh, therefore this clergyman was the husband of Amphillis and the father of her six children.

From this deduction, the material, the "keystone" was made, and it completed the "Washington Arch," and that's all there is to this great genealogical discovery. The conjunction of the two will items is the only "proof" that the Rev. Lawrence Washington was the father of Colonel John Washington. Should it be indisputable, it leaves the clergyman and the colonel each with a "skeleton." Otherwise, in which of the numerous Washington families of England belonged the "Mr. Lawrence Washington," of Tring, Herts, 1636, who married Amphillis Roades about 1628, and was alive about 1642?

Incidentally this is the place to mention that about the time of these occurrences, there was a Washington family owning and residing at Beaches manor, in Brent-Pelham parish, Herts. The lord of this manor was Adam Washington, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, who bought this manor in 1640, owning at the time two others in the county. His wife, living in 1659, was Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Floyer, lord of Brent-Pelham manor, high sheriff of Herts, in 1648. Their daughter Margaret Washington, of Euen parish, Herts, aged 20, her parents dead, had license to marry, in 1679, William Wright.

I wish for the memory of Mr. Waters, that his deduction had been as plausible as pleasing, but we can't get away from the fact that for centuries there have

been two distinct families in England, often in the same county, called, the one Rumbold, the other Rumball; the niece was born to one, and the sister married into the other.

Because there were, and are, so many families of each of these surnames, and for want of space, I shall mention only a few instances of Rumball (having done the same for Rumbold), they being suitable to this review. As mentioned of Rumbold, Rumball, too, has had many variations, or corruptions, as Rombold;—Rumboll, Rumbell, Rumble, and even Rumbello, to match Rumbold's Romboldus.

William Rumball and wife Elizabeth had a son baptised at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London, 22 Feb., 1662–3. "Mr. William Rumball" was buried at this church ("he died of ye Plague"), 6 July, 1665. Richard Rumball, of Great Buddon parish, Essex, widower, age 50, had license to marry, 16 May, 1661. Richard Rumball, and wife Elizabeth, had a daughter baptised 17 June, 1683, at Christ Church, New Gate, London. Buried at this church, 20 Oct., 1685, Mrs. Elizabeth Rumball, and on the 23d, Richard Rumball. Edmund Rumball, of Christ Church parish, London, aged 25, had license to marry, 15 June, 1675. John Rumball, Gent, of Shefford, Bedford, widower, age 50, had license to marry in London, 6 April, 1665.

Edward Rumball, of Fullham, Essex, Esq., age 25, had license, dated 13 Sep., 1687, to marry Lady Anne Villiers, of St. Margaret parish, Westminster, (London), age 19, daughter of the Rt. Hon. George Villiers, Lord Viscount of Grandison. The Viscount was a near relative of George Villers, Duke of Buckingham, whose half-sister Lady Anne Villiers, was the wife of Sir William Washington, of Kensington and Thistleworth, Middlesex, brother to Sir John, Rev. Lawrence, Mrs. Mewce, &c.

John Newdigate removed with his family from Lon-

don to Boston, Mass., in 1632. His son and heir, Nathaniel Newdigate, returned to London, became a merchant, and died there leaving a will, dated 22 Sep., 1668. He named his wife, Isabella, his ex'trix, and his brothers-in-law, Sir John Lewis, Edward Rumball, of the Savoy, a precinct of the Strand, London, and Edmund White, merchant of London, overseers. Among his legatees—"To Edward Rumball, and his wife, Anne, ten pounds a piece." "To my niece, Mary Rumball, five pounds." Isabella and Anne, mentioned, and Joan, wife of Sir F. Holles, were sisters of Sir John Lewis.

If it is admitted as a fact that there was always a Rumbold family and a Rumball family, it proves that "niece Rumball" was not "sister Rumbold." This agreed upon, then there is no known proof that the clergyman of Purleigh was the Mister of Tring. Therefore, the clergyman was not the father of the colonel, hence, the latter was, no doubt, born in wedlock. Otherwise, if the niece and the sister were identical, it has to be believed, through the evidence, that the colonel was illegitimate, unless we prefer to think the Fellow lived a double life, a bachelor at the University, and a married man and father somewhere else. It would not be fair to Amphillis to say she never was married, since a record of her marriage has not been found, because the circumstantial evidence of the Tring parish church register is in her favor. However, it only shows her husband was a "Mr." Lawrence Washington. Who he was it is charitable to those concerned, to say he has never been identified, therefore, the authoritative Royal Descent line of the Rev. Lawrence Washington remains in abeyance so far as Colonel John Washington of Virginia is concerned, because there is no proof he was the son of the clergyman.

THE SECOND TROOP PHILADELPHIA CITY CAVALRY.

BY W. A. NEWMAN DORLAND, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S.
Major, Medical Corps, U. S. Army; formerly First Lieutenant and Surgeon of the Troop (April 1, 1898–November 10, 1903.)

[*For References see pages 385–387.*]

(Continued from page 291.)

Chapter III.

THE TROOP BECOMES THE SECOND CITY TROOP.

An important event in local affairs occurred in the winter of 1784–5. This was nothing less than the division of Philadelphia County by Act of Assembly, September 10, 1784, a considerable portion of the territory now going to form Montgomery County. As a result of this partition a number of the former Philadelphia County troopers found themselves expatriated, as it were; and no longer being residents of Philadelphia County they were no longer eligible as members of the County Troop of Horse. Accordingly, in the spring of 1785 there appeared the following public notice:—[77]

"Philadelphia County, April 12, 1785.—N. B.—A number of vacancies have happened in the troop, by the county of Philadelphia being divided; any gentleman desirous of joining said troop of horse is requested to make his application soon, at the subscriber's office, in the Northern-Liberties,[78] Philadelphia county.

"William Coats, Lieutenant of the county of Philadelphia."

Later in this year appeared the following notice:—[79]

"The Gentlemen of the Troop of Horse of Montgomery county, are requested to meet, properly equipped, at the house of Abraham Duffield, at the Crooked Billet,[80] on Monday the 20th instant, at eight o'clock in the Morning.

"J. Morris."

"August 15, 1785."

In September, the following notice appeared:—[81]

"The troops of light dragoons will meet the 18th of October, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at the house of William Lesher, in Germantown, with their accoutrements compleat.

"William Coats, Lieut. of Phil. county."

"Philadelphia, September 23, [1785]."

And the following in November:—[82]

"The County Light Horse are desired to meet (for the last time this season) at the house of Mr. *John Dovers* [*sic*], at the old Rising-Sun, on the Germantown road, 4 miles from Philadelphia, the 18th instant. It is hoped every man will be well equipped, and be punctual in meeting at 10 o'clock in the Morning.

"*Signed,* Wm. Coats, lieut. county Philad."

"Philadelphia county, November 10, 1785."

In 1786, the first Troop notice appeared in April:—[83]

"The Troop of Light-Horse of the county of Philadelphia, will please to take *Notice,* that they are to *Parade* on *Tuesday* next, the 2d of May, precisely at 9 o'clock in the Morning, at the Old *Rising Sun,* on the Germantown road, properly equipt as Light-Horsemen, in order to join the 2d Battalion, commanded by Colonel [Matthew] Holegate [*sic*].

"William Coats, Lieut. C. P."

"Philadelphia, County, April 26, 1786."

Naturally, the limitation of the territory of the county more closely allied the interests of its inhabitants with those of the city proper. Consequently, when, in 1786, Captain Snyder was compelled to relinquish the command of the Troop, it was but logical that the members of the organization should select as their leader one whose interests lay in both city and county. Therefore, Robert Hopkins, a member of the City battalion, was chosen as Captain Snyder's successor, in April, 1786, and administered the Troop affairs during the next two years.[84] Israel Elliot, at that time became Lieutenant of the Troop and Isaac Keen, Cornet.

That the military instinct was strong in the land at this date, and that the War of the Revolution had not been followed by a period of reaction and stagnation, as is so often the case, may be proved by two interesting excerpts from the State records of 1786. The first of these is a note directed to

"His Excellency, the President of the Supreme Council[85]

"The Officers of the Militia of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia present their most respectful Compliments to his Excellency the President [Governor] and members of the Hon^{ble} the Supreme Executive Council, requesting the Honor of their presence at a review of the Light Companies and other Detatchments [*sic*] of said Militia, on Thursday the 14th Inst. at 3 o'clock in the Afternoon.

"Philad^{a} Sept. 12th, 1786."

Six weeks later we find the following typical letter from Colonel Francis Mentges to Vice-President Biddle:—[86]

"Philadelphia, the 26th 8bre, 1786

"Sir,

The Battallion of Artillery was, at their last Muster Day, prevented of parading on account of the

weather, they therefore concluded at a very numerous meeting to parade on Monday next with two pieces of ordnance, provided with 60 pounds of Catridges *at their own expence,* and to take up a Line of March, in conjunction with the Troops of Light Dragoons and the Companies of Light Infantry, to perform the different evolutions and firings to close the season; of which corps they have honored me with the command. I thought proper to inform you and the Hon'ble the Council of this manœuvre, and hope it will meet with your approbations, which will afford the greatest satisfaction to those Citizens who are wishing to be perfect in the military art, to act as soldiers in case of necessity.

"I have the honor to be,

"with the highest esteem,

"Your Ob. H. Servt.,

"F. Mentges.[87]

"N. B. You will please to favor me with an answer today.

"The Honb. Charles Biddle, Vice President."

The announcement for the Fall drills, appeared in September as follows:—[88]

"Philadelphia County, September 14, 1786.

"THE Militia of the county of Philadelphia are hereby NOTIFIED, That agreeable to the direction of the Militia Law, they are to meet on the following days to exercise, viz. In companies the two first Mondays in the month of October, viz: the 2d and 9th. The first battalion on Monday the 16th of October. The second battalion on Tuesday the 17th ditto.

"The TROOP OF LIGHT DRAGOONS will please to observe thay they are to meet the first battalion on Monday the 16th, near the ten mile stone, on the Newtown road, properly mounted and equipt.

"WM. COATS, Lieut. C. P."

The usual Fall inspection followed this event in a few weeks, as is shown in the accompanying record:—[89]

"The battalion of militia, commanded by Col. Matthew Jones, and which is composed of the freemen of Philadelphia and Montgomery counties, was, on Friday last [Oct. 20], reviewed by the Inspector General. . . . . The troops of light dragoons, with their horses well trained and uniformly caparisoned, commanded by Captain [Robert] Hopkins and Lieutenant Jones, belonging to the above mentioned counties, joined and acted on the wings of the battalion in its several positions, and closed the evolutions by firing their pistols and charging each other in sham fight."

Military activity for 1786 closed on November 6, as the following notices state:[90]—"A number of the gentlemen belonging to the several corps of Light Dragoons of the city and county, artillery and light infantry of the city and liberties, propose to assemble on the Commons, at 8 o'clock next Monday morning [October 30], in order to close the exercises for the season. It is proposed to form, take up a line of march, make a short circuit, and perform the several evolutions and firings. This measure has been signified to his hon. the supreme executive council, and has met with their highest approbation.

"The officers of the respective corps above mentioned, are therefore requested to meet Col. Mentges, at five o'clock this afternoon, in the state house yard, in order to fix and determine upon the necessary arrangements.

"October 27, 1786."

A special interest is attached to this notice as being the first direct indication of the drawing together of the militia and volunteers of the city and county. In a little over a year from this date the County Troops became known as the Second City Troop. The pro-

posed drill was postponed a week, as the following notice shows:[91]—

"The badness of the weather on Monday last, having prevented the assembling of the *Volunteer Corps of the Militia,* of the City, liberties and county, as was proposed and agreed on, they are hereby informed that Monday next [Nov. 6], precisely at 8 o'clock, A. M., is assigned for that purpose: It is therefore earnestly requested, that the Gentlemen composing the cavalry, artillery and light infantry, will be punctual in their attendance, as it will be the last general review for the season. Each dragoon will furnish himself with 9 rounds, and each light infantry soldier with 20 rounds of cartridges.

"F. MENTGES, Insp. Gen. P. M.

"Nov. 1, [1786]."

Later we read:[92]—"Monday last [Nov. 6], five light infantry companies, a detachment of artillery, and the light dragoons of the county, assembled on the commons of this city, took up a line of march, proceeded to a field on the Germantown road, performed several evolutions and firings, returned to the Commons in the evening (making a detour or circuitous march of near nine miles), expended the residue of their ammunition prepared for the purpose, and thus concluded the parade exercises for the season. Colonel Mentges, inspector general, was honored with the command on the occasion."

The days of exercise for the spring of 1787 are recorded in the following public notice:[93]—

"Philadelphia county, April 3, 1787.

"Notice is hereby given to the inrolled militia of the county of Philadelphia, that the following days are appointed by law as days of exercise, viz. In companies the two last Mondays in the month of April, viz.

the 23ᵈ and 30ᵗʰ; *And in battalion, in the following order:* The first battalion, commanded by Colonel [Isaac] *Worrell,* on the first *Monday* in May, viz. the 7ᵗʰ. The second battalion, commanded by Colonel [Matthew] *Holegate,* on *Tuesday,* the 8ᵗʰ day of May. The TROOPS of LIGHT DRAGOONS are to meet the Second battalion, commanded by Colonel *Holegate,* on their parade day, by eleven o'clock in the morning. . . .

"WILLIAM COATS, Lieut. C. P."

An account of the Troop drill on this occasion [advanced one day] is preserved:—[94] "On Monday last [May 7] the 2ᵈ battalion of Philadelphia County Militia paraded on the Commons near Germantown, with the county troop of light dragoons. The battalion was commanded by Col. Holgate, the troop by captain Hopkins; and it is with pleasure we assure the public that the battalion and troop went through the different manœuvres and firing with the greatest skill and ability. Such an example ought to influence the other counties to qualify themselves for the service of their country, which, in the present state of things, may demand the assistance of every friend to good government."

The following month, June, 1787, the Troop participated in a general review of the city and county militia by President Washington.[95] On October 1, 1787, there occurred the last parade for the season of the Light Companies attached to the Regiments of the City and Liberties, in which the County Troop participated.[96] The trend of the Troop toward the city, which had been manifesting itself with great rapidity since the division of the county, was irresistible, and finally the Legislature of the State was petitioned to authorize its inclusion among the volunteer organizations of the city. Accordingly, there was passed, on March 22ᵈ, 1788, an Act entitled, "An Additional SUPPLEMENT to the Acts

for the Regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," in which appears the following:—[97]

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

An additional Supplement to the Acts for the regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Whereas the present laws for the regulation of the Militia of this Commonwealth prove very burthensome and expensive to those who spend their time in attending on Muster days, as well as to those who from conscious scruples or otherwise neglect or refuse to give such attendance and more especially as the benefits derived or which can possibly be expected to be derived to the State under the present system are by no means proportionate to the certain loss and expence incurred thereby: And whereas it is conceived that the present laws for the regulation of the Militia of this Commonwealth might be rendered less burthensome by lessening the days of exercise and improved by furnishing the Militia with powder, in order to go through their firings on such days as may be thought necessary for them to attend on military duty.

Be it therefore enacted and it is hereby enacted by the representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, That the Lieutenant of the city of Philadelphia, and of the several counties within this Commonwealth are hereby empowered and required to furnish the officers commanding battalions or corps for every Militia Man bearing arms in such battalion or corps within the city and several counties aforesaid, with thirteen cartridges for the purpose of going through their firings, every battalion day, whereon by law they are required to attend military duty, and to apply so much of the money arising from fines

on delinquents for their non attendance on Militia duty as will defray said expence. Provided always, that the delivery of cartridges by the commanding officers respectively, shall be confined to the men actually under arms, and if such commanding officers respectively, shall have received more cartridges than are necessary agreeably to this act for the number of men actually appearing under arms on the parade, they shall return the overplus agreeably to a field return to be delivered to the respective county lieutenants, in convenient time after each battalion day:

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, the fine on non-commissioned officers and privates for non-attendance on Militia duty, every battalion day whereon, by law, the enrolled Militia, within this Commonwealth, are required to attend Milita duty shall be the sum of seven shillings and six pence and no more.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That so much of the act of General Assembly, entitled "A further supplement to the act entitled, an act for the regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," as requires the enrolled Militia to meet in companies on the several days therein mentioned, and which imposes a fine of five shillings on such as neglect or refuse to meet on such days of exercise, is hereby repealed and made null and void, any thing in the several laws of this Commonwealth for the regulation of the Militia contained, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And whereas several of the Freemen of the city of Philadelphia, with a view to render themselves as useful to their country in the character of Militia as possible, have voluntarily associated and formed themselves into a troop of Light Dragoons, and are desirous of being authorized and established as such by law.

Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid,

That in addition to the troop of Militia Light Dragoons for the said city already formed under the laws of this Commonwealth, there shall be one other troop of Light Dragoons for the said city, formed by volunteer association of the Freemen of the said city (including those persons who have already voluntarily associated and formed themselves as aforesaid), to consist of one Captain, one First Lieutenant, one Second Lieutenant, one Cornet, four Sergeants, four Corporals, one Farrier, one Trumpeter and sixty eight privates, which said additional troop shall be under the like rules and regulations with the other Militia troop of Light Dragoons within this Commonwealth and the Officers of the said corps, shall be accordingly and in like manner commissioned by the Supreme Executive Council.

And whereas some of the Militia of this State have voluntarily formed themselves into companies of Light-armed Infantry and have attached themselves to the battalions, from which they have been respectively formed, and others influenced by their example, may be desirous of forming like companies from other battalions;

Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful, for the volunteers composing the aforesaid companies of light infantry, to elect by ballot one captain, one first and one second lieutenant, and that non-commissioned officers of such companies shall be appointed in like manner as is usual in the other militia, and the said companies respectively may consist of sixty eight men, exclusive of officers, provided such number have joined or hereafter shall join such companies, and shall be attached to, and act with the battalion from which they are or shall be formed, and be subject to like rules and regulations as the other militia of this State.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That whenever forty volunteers from any bat-

talion within this commonwealth, shall signify to the commanding officer thereof their intention of forming a company of light infantry, and shall be willing to equip and cloath themselves in uniform for that purpose, it shall be lawful for them to elect their officers, and thereafter they may consist of like number, and shall be governed and regulated in like manner as the companies mentioned in the section last preceding.

Signed by order of the House,
THOMAS MIFFLIN, *Speaker.*

Enacted into a Law at Philadelphia,
on *Saturday* the twenty second day
of *March,* in the year of our Lord
one thousand seven hundred and
eighty eight.

PETER ZACHARY LLOYD,
Clerk of the General Assembly.

"Sect. V. And whereas several of the freemen of the city of Philadelphia, with a view to render themselves as useful to their country, in the character of militia, as possible, have voluntarily associated, and formed themselves into a troop of light dragoons, and are desirous of being authorized and established as such by law: BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED BY THE AUTHORITY AFORESAID, That in addition to the troop of militia light dragoons for the said city, already formed under the laws of this commonwealth, there shall be one other troop of light dragoons for the said city, formed by volunteer association of the freemen of the said city (including those persons who have already voluntarily associated and formed themselves as aforesaid) to consist of one Captain, one first Lieutenant, one second Lieutenant, one Cornet, four Sergeants, four Corporals, one Farrier, one Trumpeter, and fifty-eight privates, which said additional troop shall be under like rules and regulations with the other militia

troop of light dragoons within this commonwealth, and the officers of the said corps shall be accordingly, and in like manner, commissioned by the Supreme Executive Council."

Then came into existence the Second City Troop. A reorganization was immediately accomplished; and Captain Hopkins refusing another term of office, he was succeeded, on May 24, 1788, by William Bingham, according to the following "Return of Officers Elected and Nominated Aggreeable [*sic*] to the Militia Law of this State, by [Colonel] Wm. Henry, Lieut., City Philadelphia, Lieutenant's office, June 1st, 1788:—[98]

William Bingham, Captain, May 24, 1788.
William Jackson, 1st Lieut., " " "
James Campbell,[99] 2d Lieut., " " "
Jacob Cox, Cornet, " " "

Chapter IV.

THE EARLY OFFICERS OF THE TROOP.

Of the three captains of the county troop prior to its development into the Second City Troop, but scanty information, other than that contained in the extant Troop records, can be obtained.

The *Faries* family from early Colonial times in Pennsylvania has held a permanent place in the different communities in which its members have been located. The name has been variously spelled—Faris, Fearis, Faires, Fariess, Ferris, Faeris, Farris, Faries —but it has finally established itself in its present form. All are descended from the Welsh settler, *Jacob Faris,* who was one of the builders of the old church in Pencader, Delaware.

Owen Faries was born about 1750, and, on April 27, 1779, was married, in Christ Church, to *Jane Lukens.* On December 4, 1779, he laid before the Supreme Ex-

ecutive Council "a Certificate of the Payment of Seventeen thousand and Ten pounds to Colonel George Smith, Agent for forfeited estates in the County of Philadelphia, being the Purchase money of a Tract of Land, late the Property of *Henry Jounkin,* forfeited to the State and sold by the Land Agent. And a draft of survey of the said Land, signed by Robert Loller and certified by Thomas Hale, one of the Agents for said County, and a Deed granting the same to the said Owen Faries. Being read, *Ordered,* That the same be Executed according to Law."[100] In 1780, he resided in Germantown, and offered for sale "a small plantation in Hatfield Township;" the same year there is recorded the sale of the estate of John Wright to Owen Faries, comprising a tract of land of 50 acres in Hatfield township for 5100 pounds Continental money, with a ground rent of $2\frac{11}{12}$ bushels of wheat.[101] On October 19, 1780, Owen Faries requests "those to whom he is indebted to bring in their accounts by the first day of December next, as he intends to move to Philadelphia."[102] He was elected a member of Lodge No. 4, of the Masonic Order of Philadelphia, on March 23, 1779, but opposite his name is the significant entry: "Gone, not known where." On June 18, 1782, an order of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, "was drawn on the Treasurer in favor of Peter Frailey and Owen Ferris for two pounds specie, for their services in securing James M'Cullough, a deserter from the Continental army;[103] and, on April 12, 1783, the Council granted to Owen Ferris a passport to New York.[104] From this time all trace of him is lost. On May 1, 1784, there is recorded in Philadelphia a firm, *Brown and Fearis,* having a commission store the second door below Spruce in Water Street.[105] On July 3, 1790, the partnership of *James Hutton* and a Mr. *Farris* was dissolved.[106] What relationship these persons bore to Owen Faries is not known. About this time a branch of the Faries

family purchased a large tract of land near the present town of Smyrna, Delaware, where some of that name still live. Owen Faries commanded the Troop of Horse from May, 1775, to December 2, 1780, when he was succeeded by David Snyder. In 1779, Charles Wilson Peale painted a miniature of "Captain Farris, of the Light Horse of Germantown."[107]

David Snyder (Schneider), miller, lived in or near Oxford township, near Frankford, Philadelphia County, where some of his descendants still reside. He has left but few records of his life. He was related to *Christian Schneider,* who arrived in Philadelphia, October 9, 1747, in the ship "Restauration," James Hall, Captain. On May 6, 1777, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the Third Battalion of Militia for Philadelphia County, that Battalion including troops from Cheltenham, Abington, Lower Moreland, Lower Dublin, Byberry and Oxford. In 1778, he was a grand juror for the City and County of Philadelphia. On December 2, 1780, he succeeded Owen Faries in command of the County Troop of Horse, and held that office until 1786, when he was succeeded by Robert Hopkins. On March 28, 1782, Captain Snyder, with Captains John Nice and Robert Erwin, joined in charges before the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, "of certain abuses and irregularities at the last general election for the County." In 1785, there was a *Peter Snyder* living in Fourth Street above Vine. On June 5, 1797, a *David Snyder* was married, in Zion Church, to *Sophia Seyfert.* Captain Snyder died, intestate, in August, 1809:—"on the 29th day of August [1809] Letters of administration were granted unto *Christian Snyder* [his son] and *Jonathan Bovington* [his son-in-law] on the Estate of David Snyder, miller, deceased. Frederick Hackly of Nor. Lib., lace weaver, Benjamin Johnson, Innkeeper, Nor. Lib. sureties $2400 bond." The value of the estate was $1200. On August

11, 1843, *Rebecca,* widow of *Colonel David Snyder,* died and was buried from the home of her son-in-law, *William Conrad,* in Holmesburg. David Snyder's brother, *Christian Snyder,* in 1776, was Captain in the Flying Camp; on March 31, 1779, he took the oath of allegiance to the State; on November 15, 1770, he was married to *Anna Maria Jansson;* and in November, 1793, he was a Trustee of the Public School of Germantown. Colonel *David Snyder's* son, *Colonel Christian Snyder,* was born in 1769; on May, 1812, was Brigade Inspector of the 2d Brigade, 1st Division P. M., and died in Moreland township, Montgomery County, Pa., on June 5, 1848, in his 79th year. He was buried in Oxford churchyard, Frankford.

Robert Hopkins, Jr., was the son of Robert Hopkins, Sr., of the District of Richmond, whose house at Point-no-Point was burned down on March 4, 1769; who, in December, 1776, was a member of Captain Jehu Eyre's Artillery Company of Philadelphia; who took the oath of allegiance to the State on July 12, 1777; who died early in 1780; and whose will, made in 1779, was probated on March 8, 1780. This document begins as follows:—"I, Robert Hopkins of the District of Richmond, ... being advanced in years . . . . , I do appoint my son Robert Hopkins and my Daughter Hannah Hopkins Executors of my will." He makes mention of a granddaughter, *Elizabeth,* daughter of his late son, *Isaac,* and four children—*Thomas, Robert, Mary Jackson,* and *Hannah Hopkins* (married *Levi Ellmaker*). After some bequests, the residue of his property was left to Hannah Hopkins, as well as the household furniture, etc. His wife's name is not mentioned, she probably having predeceased him. In February, 1784, his executors, William Adcock, Mary Jackson, Robert Hopkins, and J. Bates, advertised his estate for sale at public vendue, as "That pleasant Seat, formerly the estate of Robert Hopkins deceased,

situate in the precinct of Richmond, commonly called Point-no-Point, five miles from the city of Philadelphia, containing 100 acres and a half or thereabouts.'"[108] In April, 1785, it is spoken of as "the old place, the late seat of Mr. ROBERT HOPKINS, dec. on Point-no-Point, five miles from Philadelphia;"[109] and in April, 1787, we learn that it consisted of "a mansion-house and 9 acres and 13 perches of excellent land."[110] His children, as has been stated, were *Isaac* (who died before 1780, leaving a daughter *Elizabeth*), *Thomas, Robert, Mary* (who married a Mr. *Jackson*) and *Hannah.* The son of *Thomas Hopkins* was *Robert,* an Inspector of Customs, who died in 1828, his will being probated on September 12, 1828, and who left a wife, *Margaret,* and twelve children: — *Rebecca, Sarah, Margaret, Christian, Charles J., Mary, Thomas, Elizabeth, Ann, Henry, Francis* (born in 1806; died October 16, 1842, in his 36th year), and *Robert.*

ROBERT HOPKINS, JR., son of *Robert Hopkins, Sr.,* was probably a member of the County Troop from its inception, for he is recorded as a private in the first muster-roll, published in 1777. He attained the captaincy in 1786, following David Snyder, and was succeeded, on May 24, 1788, by William Bingham. In April 1786, he is recorded as "carrying on the biscuit-baking business in Nomi's Alley" [which extended east and west from Front to Second Street between Chestnut and Walnut,[111] in partnership with his brother Thomas.[112] They failed in business, for on June 30, 1790, there appeared the first notice of the "case of *Thomas Hopkins* and *Robert Hopkins,* BANKRUPTS, of the City of Philadelphia, Biscuit bakers."[113] Robert Hopkins was elected a member of the First Troop on September 24, 1787; and took the oath of allegiance to the State on January 15, 1788. In 1789, he is recorded as a private in the First Company, Fourth Battalion, Col. John Shee. He died at his home in the District of

Richmond in March, 1790. His will begins as follows:—"I, Robert Hopkins of the Precinct of Richmond, in the Northern Liberties, being afflicted in body but sound of mind, etc." The executor of his estate was Joseph Few.[114] The residue of his estate was left to four minor sons—*James, William, Thomas* and *Richard,* to be equally divided among them when they reached the age of 21 years. No mention is made of his wife. His son, *Thomas,* in 1845, lived at No. 103 Melon Street, above Thirteenth Street between Green and Coates [Fairmont Avenue].

Of the other officers of the Troop during the thirteen years of its existence from 1775 to 1788, two have left distinguished records. These are Lieutenant Abraham Duffield and Cornet Casper Dull.

Abraham Duffield[115] was descended from the immigrant, *Robert Duffield,* in the following line:—*Robert Duffield,* who settled in Burlington, New Jersey, about 1678, was born in England in 1610, and died in February 1692. His son, *Benjamin,* was born in England on September 29, 1661; came to America in 1682, when 21 years of age; and died on May 5, 1721. His son, *Thomas,* was born in Benfield [Torresdale], Pa., on February 28, 1691, and died in 1758. His son, *Jacob,* the father of Abraham, was born in 1724; married *Hannah* (born July 29, 1723, died October 8, 1793, aged 70 years, daughter of *Toby* and *Hannah Leech*); and died on October 16, 1774. He was a Captain in the regiment commanded by his uncle, Colonel *Jacob Duché,* during the French and Indian War of 1756–7.

Abraham Duffield, the seventh son of *Jacob Duffield* and *Hannah Leech,* was born in Oxford township, Philadelphia County, on September 26, 1753. His mother, after the death of Jacob Duffield, married *John Engle.* Abraham received his education at the place of his birth. When the Revolutionary War broke out he

was 21 years old; and in 1776, when 23 years old, he was an Ensign in the famous Flying Camp.[116] The next year he is recorded, together with his brother *Eduard,* as a private in the "Troop of Light Dragoons for the County of Philadelphia."[117] In 1781, when 28 years old, he attained the Lieutenancy of the Troop, which office he held for three years. "As a partizan he was eminently useful to the American cause, whilst the British occupied Philadelphia. His accurate knowledge of the country enabled him to assist in cutting off supplies from the British; and made him particularly obnoxious to the Tories and Refugees, among whom were some of his neighbors."[118] In February, 1782, he opened a livery stable in the house formerly occupied by *Benjamin Hemmings,* in Fourth Street between Lombard and New Streets. In 1784–85, he was proprietor of the *Crooked Billet Inn* in The Crooked Billet [now Hatboro], Pa.[119]

In early life he entered the flour and lumber business, and, acquiring considerable wealth, purchased, in 1799, the old Swedes' mill property (known popularly as *Lydia Darrach's mill*) in Frankford, together with the mansion attached, where he resided until his death. As a bonus for his services in the Revolution he was given by the Government tracts of land in Kentucky aggregating 3500 acres, which we find him endeavoring to dispose of in 1791. That he was a man of considerable means for those times is shown by the fact that he was a creditor of Robert Morris for over $12,000.

In May, 1802, he was elected the second Burgess that Frankford had, and held that office for 1803 and 1804. He was also a Manager of the Frankford and Bristol Turnpike Company in 1803 and for a number of years subsequently. In 1812 he was nominated for the Assembly by the Federalists, but was defeated. In subsequent service in the Philadelphia Militia Lieutenant Duffield acquired the rank of Major; and on Thursday,

the Canadian Campaign of 1776; and *Christian,* who was naturalized in Philadelphia on April 6, 1755; was Captain of the First Company in Colonel John Moore's Fourth Battalion of Philadelphia Association; and who subsequently, in 1789, kept the *Spring House Tavern* on the Bethlehem Turnpike, in the township of Gwynedd, Montgomery County, sixteen miles from Philadelphia.[123]

Casper Dull, Jr., was born at Trappe on June 11, 1748. On September 20, 1774, he married *Hannah Matieu (Mathews)*, who was born, of Huguenot ancestry, on February 21, 1758, and died on February 21, 1826, aged 68 years.[124] Casper Dull entered the services of the Colonies in the early days of the Revolutionary War, for we find his name included in the list of First Lieutenants of the Flying Camp of 1776.[125] Afterwards, in 1777, he became Cornet [second lieutenants of cavalry and artillery were often so known before and during the Revolution] of the "Troop of Light Dragoons for the County of Philadelphia, Associated Battalions,[126] when he was 29 years old. He was subsequently—on November 20, 1777—promoted to a First Lieutenancy, and later on—on September 10, 1778—attained the Captaincy of a company of infantry. There are on record various muster-rolls of Captain Dull's company of infantry. Thus, we find at one time "A Return of the Second, Third and Fourth Classes of Captain Casper Dull's Comp'y, First Batt. Phila. County Militia," certified to in December, 1778.[127] Again, there is recorded "a Muster Roll of Capt'n Dull's Comp'y of Militia of the First Battalion of Philada. County commaned by Col. Daniel Heester, Esqr. Casper Dull Captn for the 1778."[128]

Through some influence unknown to us—perhaps because of a first love—Captain Dull's interest was transferred back to the cavalry, and on June 17, 1780, we find him again recorded as Cornet in the Troop of Light

REFERENCES.

[77] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 13, 1785, p. 3, c. 2.

[78] In early times, *"North End"* was the name commonly given to the *Northern Liberties*, when having its only road out Front Street. The Northern Liberties, originally included *Hartsfelder's tract* (a tract of 350 acres on Cohocksink Creek granted in 1676 to one Hartsfelder), and eventually embraced all the land north of the Cohocksink (also known as *Stacey's Creek* and later as *Pegg's Run*) and Shackamaxon Creek (also known as *Gunner's Run*), extending clear across the peninsula from Delaware to Schuylkill, westward over the former Campington. The Northern Liberties were incorporated about 1801. There were no wagon-pavements in any part of this district prior to about 1805 (*Watson's Annals*, vol. i, p. 477; *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 119).

[79] *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 18, 1785.

[80] *The Crooked Billet Tavern* was the inn located where Hatboro, Pa., now lies. Abraham Duffield also held the lease of the *"Red Lion"* Hotel at Frankford.

[81] *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 24, 1785.

[82] Ibid, November 11, 1785

[83] Ibid, April 28, 1786.

[84] *Watson's Annals*, vol. i, p. 330. Also Pa., Arch., 6th Series, vol. iii, p. 1325.

[85] *Pennsylvania Archives*. Edited by Samuel Hazard, 1855, p. 57.

[86] Ibid, p. 78.

[87] *Francis Mentges*, born in Deux Ponts, France, taught dancing in Philadelphia before the Revolution. He became an officer in the Revolutionary army. On March 22, 1776, he was appointed Adjutant and Second Lieutenant in Colonel Atlee's Musketry Battalion; and on August 9, 1776, was promoted to First Lieutenant. On October 25, 1776, he became Major of the Eleventh Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, ranking from October 7th. He was transferred to the Seventh Pennsylvania on June 21, 1778; and became Lieut.-Colonel of the Fifth Pennsylvania on October 7, 1778. He was at one time in 1781 and 82, Inspector of the Southern Army. He retired from the Army on January 1, 1783 (*Heitman's Register*). On April 29, 1786, he was elected by the Philadelphia Council Inspector General of the Militia of the State of Pennsylvania; and for several years was Adjutant General of Pennsylvania. He commanded the left wing of the line in the great Federal Procession of 1788. He was an active member of the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati. He died at Rocky Mount, South Carolina, greatly lamented, on October 6, 1805 (*American Daily Advertiser, November* 14, 1805). In 1779, there was a Major *J. P. Mentges* in the Seventh Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line.

[88] *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 16, 1786.

[109] Ibid, April 29, 1785.

[110] Ibid. April 13, 1787.

[111] Ibid. April 8, 1786.

[112] Ibid, June 4, 1790.

[113] Ibid, June 30, 1790.

[114] Ibid, June 4, 1790.

[115] From a genealogy (in manuscript) of the Duffield Family, prepared by Charles H. Duffield, of Frankford, Philadelphia.

[116] *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. xiii, p. 559; also Sixth Series, vol. i, p. 980; also *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 22, 1776.

[117] *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. xiii, p. 593; also Sixth Series, vol. i, p. 978.

[118] *American Daily Advertiser*, January 12, 1835.

[119] "The Battle of the Crooked Billet." By General W. W. H. Davis, vol. ii. Papers of the Bucks County Historical Society.

[120] *American Daily Advertiser*, May 16, 1808.

[121] *American Daily Advertiser*, January 12, 1835.

[122] Information obtained from a personal communication received from Casper Dull, Esq., Attorney-at-Law in Harrisburg, Pa., dated February 8, 1910.

[123] *Pennsylvania Packet*, April 1, 1789.

[124] *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. ii, p. 76.

[125] Ibid, Second Series, vol. xiii, p. 559; also Sixth Series, vol. i, p. 979; also *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 22, 1776.

[126] Ibid, Second Series, vol. xiii, p. 593.

[127] *Pennsylvania Archives*, Sixth Series, vol. i, p. 616.

[128] Ibid, Sixth Series, vol. i, pp. 622 and 654.

[129] Ibid, Sixth Series, vol. i, pp 971, 979 and 985.

[130] Ibid, Second Series, vol. xiii, p. 61.

(To be continued.)

must hereafter make the American Revolution terminate in March, 1784, instead of November, 1783. Two other regimental histories are more explicit: the exact date was March 11, 1784.

John Bach McMaster agrees with me about this, and suggests this little note for the magazine.

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS, *Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

LETTER OF JOHN ASKEW TO JONATHAN DICKINSON, 1701. [Logan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

Honest Jna & Kind Freind

London 23th 11 mo. 1700/.

I recd thine p Randell Jeney p Capt Streett who Arived here aboutt 10 Days since Put in 5 weeks to Silly where he staid a week I thank thee for thy Freindly and Intillidgeable Epestle—I writt to the abt a month since p one Capt Howe bound for Maryland but was unfortenately Cast away abt. 7 Inst. on ye Island Garnsey the ship and All ye Men and Passengers lost being aboutt 75 in Number Severall Passengers for Pensilvania was on Board In Pertiqular Wm. Robinson (Patt: Sonn) and his wife Elis Beasley

I See thy Sister this week who is well and Lusty looks much better then when in Jamaica Caleb had Gott Cold and was not very well else that was his Excuse being not out of his bed at a 11 Clock I generally See him twice or three times aweek at the Change or Coffe house I have not yett Seen Ann Price but thy Sister told me She and her Children were well about a week since Capt Rodgers is still here in town Preus husband but I suppose has little Comunication wth. his Sister in Law—Ere now noe Doubt thou hast ye acct. of thy Brother Jabishes Death in Jamiaca—here was a Report ye Capt price was Dead but noe Confirmation to that

We have not yett had opertunity to Spend thy Token by me I have desired thy Sister to Chuse her time & meathod and Judged goeing to Grinadge would be a prt of devertion soe that ye first fine Day we are to Imbark in a wherrie & Dine there take a turne in ye Park and Goe home againe thy Cosens I think are well which are to accompany us and Ann Price if She please. As to Publick News our New Parlement sitts 5th next month the Duke of Anjoue being Crowned king of Spaine pursuent to ye Deceased kings Will occations Much talk of a Warr we and ye Dutch against france and Spaine old Lewis Stands Stiffly, for his Grandson, ye sd Duks Right—and tis generally beleaved a warr is unavoidable.

Puckle sails in a weeke or thereabout Wm. trent & Family Comes in him Allsoe Tho: Morrey & tis Reported they will Bring 15000 pounds of goods Trent 10000 and Tho: 5000 3 other ships of greater Burthen are up for Pensilvania Dewell I supose will follow Puckle you are not like to want such Nessasaryes as England is Capable of furnishing you wth at your own prices—this I intend via New England but [illegible]—shall inlarge p Puckle Soe with Due Respects to thy Self kind wife Sons and all my Frds and Acquaintance as thou Sees meatt

I Remaine thy Reall Frd

John Askew

My love to thy Neighbour Saml & Rachell
I have Packt thy wife and the each of yoa a small token of a Cheshire Cheese In ordr to Come p Puckle

Corne wich is a greatt blessing to ye Numerous Poor is at Present very Cheap best wheate here at London on ye keys at 3/9d p bushell sold Last and this week. we had soundings in 24 days but through Contrary winds was 5 weeks to An Anker at Plymouth whence I with Tho: M and Another Came up By land as is my Accustomed Manner,

2. His deacon's certificate signed by Bishop White.
3. His ordination as priest, also signed by the bishop.
4. Conveyance to Col. John Bull of land in Northumberland County, 1787.
5. Parchment list of births of children of Thomas Bull.
6. Warrant for Lancaster land to John Morgan, signed by George Thomas, 25 Jan. 1744.
7. Account of standing of James H. Bull in Bristol College, 1836.

Levi Bull, son of Col. John Bull, born Warwick Furnace, graduated at 17 from Dickinson College in Oct. 1798. He studied law with James Hopkins, Esq., and then became a priest in the P. E. Church. He served in Berks and Chester Counties for many years without pay. Died Aug. 2, 1859.

The Pennsylvania Historical Commission cooperated with the Union County Historical Society in placing a marker at the site of Shekillamy's Old Town near Milton on August 2nd. Messrs. Donehoo and Montgomery represented the Commission. The marker was accepted by Hon. A. W. Johnson in behalf of the Union County Society and by Rev. A. E. Gobble in behalf of the United Evangelical Church Society. Shekillamy made his home here from 1728 to 1745, when he removed to Shamokin (Sunbury).

The Commission also assisted the Lancaster County Historical Society in placing a marker in honor of Dr. David Ramsay, Gen. John Steele, Col. Archibald Steele and Col. Thomas Porter at Unicorn on September 17th. These men were born in Drumore Township and were interesting characters in Revolutionary times. Messrs. Frank H. Eshleman, D. F. Magee and Robert Blair Kirk, together with Miss Susan C. Frazer, prepared the historical sketches.

The statue commemorating the visit of Washington to Fort LeBoeuf in 1753 will be unveiled in the Spring of 1922.

A tablet was unveiled at Shippensburg on October 11, 1921, marking the site of Fort Morris. Dr. Montgomery and Dr. Donehoo represented the Commission.

THE DENNYS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

I have for some time been engaged in research with a view to discovering the ancestry, on this side of the Atlantic, of the Dennys of Pennsylvania. I give herewith a brief statement of the information which I have already been able to obtain from America. It is derived from the Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny and the Records of the Court of Upland, which have been published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and from collections made by one of Major E. Denny's descendants. But some additional information from American sources would be most helpful and valuable. In the hope that such may be forthcoming I am publishing this note and I should be grateful to anyone who might be good enough to furnish me with any further details.

The name of one Thomas Denny occurs in the Records of the Court of Upland, about 1676–80.

"In 1681 a considerable Company was formed in Dublin, composed of substantial men, to whom was sold one of the "Tenths" into which New Jersey had been divided for purpose of settlement. This "Irish Tenth" lay in Gloucester and Salem Counties. They sailed that year and landed at Salem. Other shiploads of Irish settlers followed for several years. Amongst the earliest settlers were Thomas and Frederick Denny—possibly also William and Walter Denny."

Walter Denny appears as taxable in Chester Co. in 1722. Frederick Denny purchased land in New Jersey in 1722, if not earlier. He was

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Baltimore, Feb. 6, 1922.

Dear Sir:—

In my article on William Biles published in Vol. 26 of your Magazine, I referred to the will of Dorothy Biles of Dorchester, 1693, as being the earliest recorded will of any of that name in either the Consistory Court or the Arch-Deaconry Court at Blandford; but at the time of writing the article, I did not know whether there was any relationship between Dorothy and William Biles.

Recently, Mrs. Walter Radcliffe Kirk of Chicago, a descendant of William Biles, sent me a copy of the will of Dorothy Biles dated 1692 and probated 1693, which she had obtained from the Arch-Deaconry Court at Blandford.

From this will it is evident that Dorothy was the mother of William and Charles Biles who emigrated to America and arrived in the Delaware River on the 4th day of 4th month, 1679.

Not only does Dorothy mention her sons William and Charles Biles of Pennsylvania, but William in his will, mentions his sister-in-law Mary Biles the widow of his brother Thomas Biles of Dorchester in the County of Dorset in old England, who Dorothy also mentions in her will.

Thinking that many other descendants of William Biles would be interested in this information, I send you herewith the copy of Dorothy's will and suggest that you publish it in your Magazine.

Yours very truly,

MILES WHITE, JR.

1692 WILL OF *DOROTHY BILES*

of the parish of All Sents in the tonne of Dorchester, widow. I give my soul unto God that gave it & my Body to be buried in Christian manner as my Ex-rs shall thincke fitt.

Item. I give to my *sonn William Biles In pensilvania* or Elsewhere or to his children the sum of tenn pounds.

Item. I give to my sonn *Charles in pensilvania* or elsewhere £10. the money to be paid to them by my exec-rin 6 mos after demand,—or if dead to be divided among children.

To my son *Jonathan in New England* or elsewhere or to his children £10. in 6 mos after demand. To my son *John at London* £5. To my son John's dau. Elizabeth 20s. To *my brother Thos. Strong* £10. for the use of my *daughter Rebecca Scutt.*—not to be disposed of without my daughter's free consent. Unto William Scutt my ganson £10. besides £16. which I have already ordered for ye cure of ye stone, but Iff he die before he is of age, remainder to his two sisters, Rebecca and Elizabeth. To my grand-daughters Rebecca Scutt and Elizabeth Scutt £5 apeece.—To my sonne in law Robert Scutt, my horse. To *my dau. Mary Biles, widow,* 20 s. To *her son Thomas Biles* 10 s. to her dau Mary B. 20 s., to her dau Rebecca B. 20 s. All to be paid when they come of age. *Unto ye poore of ye people commonly called Quakers 20 s.* All ye rest of my goods, linning & woollen, Brass pewter' lumber whatsoever (except?) one new paire of green curtaines & Vallins, I give to my dau. Rebecca Scutt's two daus. Reb. & Eliz. my funerall charges being paid, which I leave unto my bro. Thos. Strong's descresion, he to be allowed for the same. My bro. Thos. Strong Exec-r

Ye marke of Dorothy Billes

witness

Robt Young
John Read
George

1692

surmounted its obstacles at a run, a gallop, a canter, and a trot, but never at a walk. Was she thinking of the flowers, the bees, and the butterflies? Or, like mine, were her thoughts straying among the other thoughts that were then crowding around her—impulses in the ether, surging over her from the most distant lands in the far-flung Empire, because she had revealed her soul to the peoples?" Of course, the big "story" of the book is his experiences in making the studies of Gladstone at Hawarden and elsewhere which led to a wonderful group of portraits, one of the most famous being the Luxemburg, Paris, while unquestionably the study possessed by the Academy of Fine Arts shows Hamilton's method at the very best. But, a book which deals with Bismarck, Asquith, Balfour, Manning, Tyndall, Spencer, General Booth, G. F. Watts and George Meredith, selecting a few of the more world-famous names cannot be but fascinating especially in these days of the craze for personality in biography. And that everything is set down in so kindly a manner, and that the geniality and urbanity and whimsicality of Hamilton are ever in evidence, is another happy feature of the work which must be read even to the very last when he tells of "The Portrait I did not Paint," the portrait of Leo the Thirteenth. Here is indeed revealed the man and his manner and his method and the character of a great period in modern life as is set out by human beings who find in this singularly human being, Hamilton, the painter, a true interpreter of manners and of men. (H. M. W.)

THE BOOK OF MORMON. Salt Lake City, 1921. 8vo. pp. 568.

The nineteenth century was prolific of new sacred books; and this one was the first (Palmyra, N. Y., 1830). To see it reprinted with still a powerful following in 1921 leads to many reflections in the mind of a student of Religion. Such productions fall easily into two main classes:

1. Those written in some abnormal mental state, generally by what is now termed automatic writing;
2. Those based upon psychic experiences, but written in the normal state.

In class 1 we must rank the present work which (setting aside all stories of fraud and taking it at its face value) was produced by some kind of crystal-gazing: Joseph Smith looked into "the interpreters" or the Urim and Thummim, two crystals, and saw therein the translation of the famous "gold plates." In this class also fall *Nature's Divine Revelations*, dictated by Andrew Jackson Davis while entranced in New York (1845–1847); *The Healing of the Nations*, by Charles Linton, of our own Bucks County (N. Y., 1855); *Oahspe* (1881); *Spirit-Teachings*, by W. Stainton Moses (London, 1883), and now the present-day *Life Beyond the Veil*, by another clergyman of the English Church, G. Vale Owen (London and New York, 1920–1921).

In class 2 we must rank *Science and Health*, by Mary Eddy (Boston, 1875) and *The Perfect Way; or, The Finding of Christ*, by Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland (London, 1882).

Class 1 is the weaker of the two, containing voluminous matter, produced in a mental ferment, and doomed to literary distinction. Whole pages of platitudes characterize this class. In reading the Book of Mormon one never finds an oracle, a literary gem, a strong utterance, except where the Old or New Testament is being quoted. The same is true of Linton and Oahspe, and predominantly so of Jackson Davis, though the case of the last was a noteworthy one and calling for serious study. The underground connection between Davis and Swedenborg is still an unsolved problem, which engaged the attention of Professor Bush. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the coined word *univercaelum* in the writings of Davis and itself the title of his once famous paper,

OFFICERS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PRESIDENT.

HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

GEORGE HARRISON FISHER,
JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS,
SIMON GRATZ,
THOMAS WILLING BALCH,
SAMUEL CASTNER, JR.,
FRANCIS RAWLE.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

R. STURGIS INGERSOLL.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

JOHN BACH MCMASTER.

TREASURER.

FRANCIS HOWARD WILLIAMS.

AUDITOR.

GEORGE W. ELKINS, JR.

CURATOR.

GREGORY B. KEEN.

LIBRARIAN.

THOMAS LYNCH MONTGOMERY.

TRUSTEES OF THE ENDOWMENT FUND AND THE MISCELLANEOUS TRUSTS FUND.

HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON, HON. CHARLEMAGNE TOWER,
SAMUEL CASTNER, JR.

TRUSTEES OF THE FERDINAND J. DREER COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.

HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON, EDWIN GREBLE DREER,
GREGORY B. KEEN, HON. CHARLEMAGNE TOWER,
THOMAS LYNCH MONTGOMERY.

TRUSTEES OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL STUDY ENCOURAGEMENT FUND.

HON. CHARLEMAGNE TOWER, GREGORY B. KEEN,
JOHN BACH MCMASTER.

TRUSTEES OF THE BUILDING FUND.

JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS, JOHN GRIBBEL,
HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM.

TRUSTEES OF THE GRATZ FUND.

EDWARD S. SAYRES, DAVID N. FELL, JR.,
JOHN ASHHURST, JOHN F. LEWIS,
EDWARD ROBINS.

STATED MEETINGS.

January 9, 1922. May 8, 1922.
March 13, 1922. November 13, 1922.
January 8, 1923.

Annual membership	$ 6.00
Life membership	50.00
Publication Fund, life subscription	25.00
Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum (to non-subscribers to the Publication Fund)	3.00

Payments may be made to the Curator at the Hall, 1300 Locust Street.

BULL, COMMODORE JAMES H., List of Bull family papers presented Hist. Society of Pennsylvania, by, 390
BULL, LEVI, 390, 391
Burgoyne, Gen. John, 71, 78
Burr, Aaron, 34, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 45, 50, 53, 55, 56, 61, 64, 65, 182, 205, 208; accomplices of, 34, 35, 36, 38
Butcher, Samuel, 275
BUTLER, MARGARET, 343

Calderwood, Capt., 219
Caldwell, ———, 16, 17
Campbell, Lieut.-Col., 215
Campbell, Lieut. James, Second City Troop, 375; biographical sketch of, 386
Canady, Col., 199
Cantsloper (also Kentsloper and Kahnsloper), 113, 136, 137, 172
Carpenter's Hall, 287
Carson, Hon. Hampton L., James Wilson and James Iredell. A Parallel and a Contrast. Address by, 1
Carson, Hon. Hampton L., delivers an address on Hon. James Wilson at the re-interment of his remains at Christ Church, Phila., Nov., 1906, 3
Carson, Hon Hampton L., The Life and Works of Benjamin West, by, 301
Carter, Major, 181, 185
Chamberstown, Pa., 110
CHAPPEL, THOMAS [Chapple], 261; biographical sketch of, 284
Chatham, Lord, 94, 95
CHEEVER, JOSHUA, death of, 138
Chesapeake Bay, 82
Chisholm, Executor, *versus* State of Georgia, referred to, 4, 18, 20, 32
Choctaw Treaty, 60
Christ Church, Phila., 2, 3, 66, 92, 93, 94, 97, 295
Church Labels, of Pennsylvania, very early; notes on a couple of, 294
Cincinnati of N. C.—guard of honor for remains of Hon. James Wilson, 2
City Tavern, the, 92
Claiborne, Col., 47
Claiborne, Gov. W. C. C., 41, 42, 43, 50, 200, 201, 202
Claiborne, Richard, 206
Clark, ———, 64
Clasbourn, Brigade Major, 219
Clinton, George, 59
Clinton, Sir Henry, 83, 84
Coats, William, to Supreme Executive Council, State of Penna., 266, 268; Joseph Reed to, 268; to Joseph Reed, 269; public notices by, 270, 271, 272, 275, 276, 277; biographical sketch of, 287, 364, 365, 367, 370
Coates, Samuel, 319
Coats family, 287
Cobb, Col., 213
Cochran, Dr., 207
COFFIN, MARGARET, 281
Cole, Richard, 347
Committee of Correspondence of City and County of Philadelphia, 258
COMMINS, MR., death of, 388
Congress, Continental, two resolutions of, 216
CONRAD, WILLIAM, 378
Conway, Brigadier, 217
Cooper, Irma Jane, Life and Public Service of James Logan, by; notice of, 298
COOPER, SARAH, wife of John Dover, 286
Copley, John Singleton, 314, 317
Correy, Colonel Robert, 276; biographical sketch of, 289
Cortland, Col., 215
Cowperthwaite, Capt. Joseph, 278
Cox, Jacob (cornet, 2nd City Troop), 375
Cradle of Pennsylvania, The, by Thomas Willing Balch, notice of, 300
Craig, Captain, 214
Craig, Lieut. Col., 214
Cristy, Capt., 3rd Penna., 212
Crooked Billet, Inn, 365, 381; Battle of, 392
Cumberland Island, forces of Aaron Burr there, 50, 55
Cushing, Col., 194, 198
Cushing, Justice, 31

Davie, ———, 16, 17
Davis, David, 261, 274; biographical sketch of, 283
DAVIS, MARTHA, wife of Major William Coats, 287
Dean, Wm., 268; to Joseph Reed, Esq., 269, 287
De Kalb, Baron, 67, 210, 212, 214
Delancy, Governor, Richard Peters to, 220
De la Viga, De Soto's historian, 188, 189
DENNY, REV. H. L. L., note on Dennys of Pennsylvania, 391
DENNYS OF PENNSYLVANIA, The, note on, by Rev. H. L. L. Denny, 391
Dernhall, England, 68
Devoe's Ferry, 131
DICKINSON, JABISH (death of, in Jamaica), 389
Dickinson, John author of "Farmer's Letters," 4, 5, 6
Dickinson, Jonathan, John Askew to, 1701, 389
DOBEL, RUTH, wife of Samuel Bennett, 279
DONALDSON, CAPT. EDWARD M., 386
Donehoo, Dr., 391
Dorchester, Eng., 393
Dorland, W. A. Newman, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S. The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, by, 257, 364
Doughty, Major, 139
DOUGHTY, SARAH, wife of Jonathan Humphreys, 280
DOVER, COL. JOHN, 266; portrait of, 266, 271; biographical sketch of, 285
DOVER FAMILY, 285
Dovers, John, 365
Downer, Dr. ———, Companion of Col. John May on his journey to the Ohio Country, 1789, 103, 106, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 138, 142, 145, 152, 155, 158

Hall, John, 318
Hamilton, Andrew, 308
Hamilton, J. McLure, Men I Have Painted, by, notice of, 394
Hamilton, William, 313
Hans *vs.* Louisiana, case of, mentioned, 33
Harcourt, Col. Wm., 80
Harmar, General, 138, 139; Madame Harmar, 151; Fort Harmar, 137, 151
HARRISON, MARY, married Abraham Bennett, 278
Hart, Charles Henry, 304, 310
Hatfield Township, 376
Hazlet, Col. J., 194
Heigher, Lieut. Col., 209
Hemmings, Benjamin, 381
Henry, Col. William, 209, 375
Henry, William, 307, 314
Heth, Lieut. Col., 210
HIGHBEE, MARY, wife of Samuel Butcher, 285
Hillsborough, N. C., place of meeting of State Convention to consider adoption of the Federal Constitution, 1788, 16
Hiltzheimer, Jacob, diary of, mentioned, 287
History of Christianity, An Introduction to the, A.D. 509, 13, 14; by F. J. Foakes Jackson, notice of, 298
Hitchcock, Brigade Major, 208, 217
Hogg, Major, 214
Holegate, Col. [Matthew], 365, 370
HOLGATE, COL. MATTHEW, 276, 277; biographical sketch of, 290
Hollingsworth *vs.* Virginia, Case of, mentioned, 32
Holms, Governor, 200, 201, 202
Hopkins, Robert, Sr., 378
Hopkins, Capt. Robert, 366, 368, 370, 375, 377; biographical sketch of, 379
HOPKINS FAMILY, 378, 379, 380
Hopkinson, Francis, 310, 311
Howard, Major, trial of, by Court Martial, 1777, 218
Howe, General Sir William, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83
Hulen, Benjamin, 157, 167
Hulen, Marcus, 141
HUMPHREY(S) FAMILY, 280
HUMPHREYS [Humphrey], ISAAC, 261, 278; biographical sketch of, 280
HUMPHREYS [Humphrey] JOHN, 261, 272, 273, 274, 275; biographical sketch of, 280, 282
HUMPHREYVILLE, PAVNEL, wife of Benjamin McVeagh, 290
Huntington, Hon. Samuel, to Hon. Benjamin Franklin, France, 1781, Concerning Captain John Paul Jones, 204
Huntington, General, 206, 210, 211
Hutton, James, 376

Independence Hall, account of, 289
Independent Troop of Horse, Philadelphia, 260
Indians, Chas. Lee adopted by, 69; massacre at Grave Creek, 110; attack at Wheeling, 119; Indian shot, 134; signals of, 140; Benj. Zane, 146; attack by, 148; siege of Wheeling, 149; ravages of, 157, 160; capture of Johnstone boys, 163; capture of Mrs. Bilderbeck, 167; Col. Washington sent against, 332
Inns—see Taverns
Iredell, Hon. James, Address on James Wilson and James Iredell. A Parallel and a Contrast, by Hon. Hampton L. Carson, 1; biographical sketch of, 4, 7, 17; important political papers mentioned, 7; opinions quoted, 13, 14; pamphlet on the new Constitution over signature of Marcus, 15; leader in debate on adoption of Federal Constitution by North Carolina, 16; Case of Chisholm Executor *vs.* State of Georgia, 18; grave of, 33
"Irish Tenths" (N. J.), 391
Irvine, Brigadier, 205, 209, 211, 217

Jackson, F. J. Foakes, An Introduction to the History of Christianity, A.D. 590–1314, by; notice of, 298
Jackson, Joseph, history of "Market Street," by, referred to, 91, 92
Jackson, Wm., Lieut. City Troop, 375
JAMES, SARAH, wife of Jacob Humphreys, 280
JANSSON, ANNA MARIA, 378 (wife of Christian Snyder)
Jarvis, Capt., 210
Jay, Chief Justice, 31
Jefferson Hotel, "Sign of Jefferson," 290
Jeney, Randell, 389
Johnson, Hon. A. W., 391
Johnson, Benjamin, 377
Johnston, Gov. Samuel, 5, 16
Johnstone, ———, two lads captured by the Indians, 163
JONES, GRIFFITH, 260; biographical sketch of, 278
Jones, Captain John Paul, resolve of Congress relating to, 204; King of France offers Cross of military merit to, 204
Jones, Lieut., 368
Jones, Col. Matthew, 368
Jones, Willie, 16
Jounkin, Henry, 376
Journal of French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, notice of, 296
Journal of a Journey to the Ohio Country, 1789, by John May, 101
Junius, Letters of, 94
JUNKIN, JANE, wife of Casper Dull, 3rd, 384

KEEN, ANDREW, 261; biographical sketch of, 279
KEEN, ISAAC, 261; biographical sketch of, 283, 366
KEEN, MATTHIAS, 283
Keith, Rev. George, 295
Kelly, Wm., 308
Kelsey, Professor R. W., edits letter of Christopher Sower, 1724, 243
Kingston, Stephen, 386
KIRK, MRS. WALTER RADCLIFFE, 393
KNOWLES, SARAH, wife of Isaac Keen, 284
KNOWLING, ANDREW, 339, 340, 343, 346, 350

to Sept. 10, 151–156; illness described, 135–159; summary of day's work, 165
MAY, COL. JOHN, children of, named, 134
Maxwell, Brigadier ———, 206, 212, 217
Men I Have Painted, by J. McLure Hamilton, with foreword by Mrs. Drew, notice of, 394
Mentges, Col. Francis, to Hon. Charles Biddle, 366, 368, 369; sketch of, 385
Mercer, Lieut. John, 206
MEWCE, MRS. ELIZABETH, 344, 353, 360, 361
Middle-Claydon, 345 346, 347
Mifflin, Thomas, 374
Militia of Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Act for the Regulation of, 1780, 262
Militia Law of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 261
MILLER, CHRISTINE, 280
MILLER, HANNAH S., wife of Jacob Markley, Jr., 282
MILLER, HENRY, 261; biographical sketch of, 280
MILLER, MARY (late Steelman), wife of Henry Miller, 280
Mingo Bottom, 143, 144
Minnes, Brigade Major, 218
Mississippi Territory, see Letters of Thomas Rodney
Mobile, in 1722, 187; West Florida troubles, 198, 199, 201, 202
Monmouth, N. J., Battle of, June, 1778, 83, 84, 85
Montgomery Co., 364, 365
Montgomery, Dr. J. L., 391
Montroy, Mr. William, 207
Moore, George H., Treason of Charles Lee, by, referred to, 82
Moore, Col. John, 383
Morgan, Col., 208
MORGAN, REBECCA, wife of Griffith Jones, 278
Mormon, The Book of, notice of, 395
Morrey, Thomas, 389
Morris, Harrison, foreword to The New Gentleman of the Road, notice of, 395
Morris, J., 365
Morris, Robert, 8
Morse, Samuel, 315
Muhlenburg, 217
Munroe, James, Esq., 206
Muskingum, 122, 125, 137, 153

Natchez, 52; Natchez newspapers (see Letters of Thomas Rodney), 40, 43, 44, 47, 52
NESWANGER, SAMUEL, 261; biographical sketch of, 279
Nevies, Capt., 219
New Gentleman of the Road, The, by Herbert Welsh, notice of, 396
New Orleans, in 1722, 187, 188; contrasted with the Mississippi Territory, 196, 197
NICE FAMILY, 281
NICE, JOHN, 261; biographical sketch of, 281, 377
NICE, MARY, wife of John Dover, 286
Nichols, Mrs. H. S. Prentiss, contributes article by George A. Reed on America's First Bathtub, 292
Nomi's Alley, location of, 379
Norrington, 276, 290
Norris, Margaret, wife of Col. Wm. Coats, 288
North End (Northern Liberties), description of, 385
Northern Liberties (North End), 364; description of, 385
Notes and Queries, 98, 204, 294, 388

O'Brien, Michael J., The McCarthy's in Early American History, by, notice of, 100
Ogden, Col., President of the Court Martial, Whitemarsh, 1777, 217
Ogg, Frederic Austin, Ph.D., The governments of Europe, by, notice of, 204
Ohio Country, Journal Relative to a Journey to, 1789, by John May, 101
Old Swedes' Mill, 381
O'NEAL, JENNETT, wife of Robt. Gregg, 281
Orderly Book, Whitemarsh, 1777, 205
Osbourne, Mr., 202
Oswald, Colonel Eleazar, attends Charles Lee in his last illness, 91
Our Rifles, by Charles Winthrop Sawyer, notice of, 300

Paris, Ferdinand John, John Penn to, 388
PARKER, AGNES, wife of Wm. Denny, 392
Parker, Brigade Major, 211
Parry, Col., Sheriff of Westmoreland Co., 1789, 118
Patterson, General, 210, 213, 217
Patton, Lieut. Col., 205
PAWLING, JOSIAH, 261; biographical sketch of, 282
Peale, Charles Wilson, 315, 377
PEARSON, SARAH, 316
Peas, ———, Surveyor General Miss. Ty., observes comet of 1808, 61
Pencader, Del., old church in, 375
Penn, William, extent of grant to, 221; Benj. West's painting of Treaty criticized, 318
Penn, John, to Ferdinand John Paris, 1741, 388
Pennsylvania—Acts relating to Bank of North America passed, 1782, 9
Pennsylvania—Early description of in letter of Christopher Sower, 1724, 243
Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 9, 1782, notice of the death and funeral of Charles Lee, 92
Pennsylvania Historical Commission and Union County Historical Society, markers placed by, 391
Pennsylvania Hospital, 312, 319
Pennsylvania — Inhabitants and Planters of, Proclamation to, 220
Pennsylvania—State of, Commissioners appointed in each county, 1777, to collect blankets and clothing for the army, 205
Pennsylvania Society, Year Book of the, edited by Barr Ferree, notice of, 300
Penther, William, 316
Peters, Rev. Richard to Gov. De Lancey, 220, 388; Wm. Peters to, 1754, 390

Smallwood, Brigadier General, 209, 212, 213, 215
Smith, George, Sub-Lieut. C. P., 268; to Joseph Reed, Esq., 269
Smith, Lieut. Col., 210, 212
Smith, Major, 215
Smith, Provost Wm., 307, 314
Smith, Provost Wm., family mausoleum at Falls of Schuylkill, 392
Smith, Wm. D.D.—Names recorded on gravestones of Provost Wm. Smith—William Smith, D.D.; Isabella Smith; Wm. Moore Smith; Samuel W. Smith; Richard Penn Smith; Eleanor, Duncan, Helen and Emma (Smith); Isabella Stratton Smith
SNYDER, CHRISTIAN, 377, 378
SNYDER (SCHNEIDER), David, 266; to Joseph Reed, Esq., 268, 269, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 278, 366; biographical sketch of, 377
Snyder, Peter 377
SNYDER, REBECCA, 378
Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 295
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 295, 296
Sower, Christopher, Genealogical Chart of Descendants of, mentioned, 243; Christopher Sower to ———, 244
Spaight, Richard Dobbs, James Iredell to (quotation from), 13, 15, 16
SPIKE, THOMAS 355
Spencer, Col., President of Court Martial, 215
Spencer, Judge, 17
Sprig, Judge (in the Mississippi Territory), 47
Spring House Tavern, 383
Stanard, Mr. (editor of Va. Mag. of His.), 339, 347
Steele, Col. Archibald, 391
Steele, ———, 16
Steele, Gen. John, 391
Steer, Christian, 261, 280
Stephens, Major General trial of, by court martial, 1777, 207
Sterling (Stirling), Lord, 206, 209, 210, 211, 213, 217
STEWART, LETITIA, wife of John Dover 286
Stoddard, Brigadier Major, 205, 212, 217
Strachey, Sir Henry, 82
Street, Robert, Artist, Sketch of, by Mantle Fielding, 255; list of paintings by, 255
Strutt, Capt., 389
Strictures on a Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans, by Charles Lee referred to, 75
STRONG THOMAS, 393
Stuart, Gilbert ("Gabriel"), 313 315, 316, 317; portrait of Provost Smith, 392
STURGESS, ANN, wife of Josiah Pawling, 282
Sulgrave (Washington family of), 340
Sullivan, Major General, 206, 207 208, 210, 212, 214, 218. (Spelled also Sullivin and Sulivine.)
Sully, Thomas, The Life and Works of Thomas Sully (1783–1872), by Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, notice of, 298, 311, 315
Summerell's Ferry (on the Yohogany), 113
Swarthmore College 304, 315

Taverns (Early) — Antford's (George), 116, 117; Bird's, Ft. Littleton, 111; Brown's, New Haven, 104; Carpenter's, ———, 116; Chind's (on Susquehanna), 107; City Tavern, Phila., 92; Clark's, Medfield, 103; Clark's Blue Mountain, 109; Coleman's Dedham, 103; Crooked Billet, 365, 381; Elliot's, Conn., 104; Elliott's, at Marcus Hulins, 116; Fuller's, Berlin, Conn., 178; Green's, east side of Conn. R., 104; Hackerd's, New York, 105; Hardy's, New York, 104; Hollinsworth's, head of the Elk, 107; Hunt's, Mamaroneck, 104; Jefferson Hotel, 290; Kippe's (Capt.), 109; Laffingis's, near Greensburg, 118; Martin's, ——— 111; McGaggay's, ———, 112; Nickol's (Sign of Conestoga Wagon), Phila., 91, 92, 176; Noel's, ———, 113; Palmer's, Charlestown, 107; Palmer's, Northern Liberties, 382; Penfield's, Fairfield, 104; Red Lion, Frankford, 385; Rising-Sun, near Phila., 365; Sherman's (Squire), Md., 109; Skerrett's, ———, 174; Skinner's, ———, 111; Sprig's (Major), W. Liberty, 170; Spring House Tavern, 383; Stamk's, Baltimore, 173; Starrick's, Baltimore, 173; Taft's Uxbridge, 103; Tannery Hills, Redstone, 114; Todd's, ——— 172; Waterman's, near Phila., 106; White's, Baskingridge, 79, 80; Wortle's, Kingsbridge, 104; Zanes', Wheeling, 140, 145, 154
Taylor, George A., Letters from the Massachusetts Archives, by, 220, 223
Taylor, Major, 210
Thanksgiving Day, proclamation of, 1777, 216
Thomas, Gov. George, to John Penn, 98
THOMAS, MARGARET, wife of Matthias Keen, 283
Thomas, Tabitha, see Lake, Tabitha, 222
THOMSON, COLONEL ARCHIBALD, 276; biographical sketch of, 289
Thomson, Col., 212
Tilton, Col., 188, 189, 191, 193, 195, 200
Tinicum Island, purchase of, 1662, 297; church established on, 294
"Tiplinghouses," in and near encampment at Whitemarsh, 211
TOY, MARGARET, wife of Andrew Keen, 280
TRENT, WM. (and Trent family), 389
Tring, Hertfordshire, Eng., see Washington Pedigree, 321, and 339–363
Trocksell, John [Troxel or Troxsell], 261, 280
TUCKER, GERRARD, 323

TUCKERMAN, EDWARD, Professor Amherst College, 101, 102
TUCKERMAN, MRS. SOPHIA, 101
Tupper, Col., 219
Tupper, General, 139
Tyler, Dr., 348
Tyler, Major, 135, 136
Tyler, Major, 214

Unicorn, markers placed at, 391
Union County Historical Society, 391
University of Pennsylvania, First Law School in United States established 1790, 7

VANDERSLICE, THOMAS, 261; marriage of, 280
VANSANDT, HANNAH, wife of Nathaniel Vansandt, 282
VANSANDT, NATHAN [Nathaniel], 261; biographical sketch of, 282
Vaughen, Major, 205
Verney, Sir Edward, 345, 346
Verney, Sir Francis, 342, 345
Virginia-Carolorum, (Neill), referred to in Washington Pedigree, 325, 347
Voiux, Charle, New Orleans and Mobile in 1722, note on, by, 187, 188 189

Walnut Hills, 38, 48, 51, 185
War Rations for Pennsylvanians, by George Nox McCain, notice of, 299
Ward, Major General Artemus, 76
Washington, George, at Fort Duquesne, 69; campaign against Howe, 78; exchange of Charles Lee, 81; welcomes Lee at Valley Forge, 1778, 83; Battle of Monmouth, 84; correspondence with Lee, 85; Lee tried by Court martial, 86; Light Horse Harry delivers funeral oration in Philadelphia, 87; festivities in New York on inauguration of, 105; Washington Pedigree, by Chas. Browning, 320; reviews Phila. City Troop, 370; defeat in 1754, 390; statue commemorating visit to Ft. LeBoeuf, 391
Washington, Mississippi Territory, Letters of Thomas Rodney from, 1807–1810, 34–65, 180–203
WASHINGTON PEDIGREE The, Corrigenda and Addenda, by Charles H. Browning, 320–363
Wasson, Col., 217
Waters (Author of Gleanings in English Wills), 326, 339, 343, 348, 354, 360
WATTON, BENJAMIN [Wotten], 261, 283
Wayne, Anthony, 208, 214
Weden, General, 206
Weeden, Brigadier, 218
Wells, Absa, 135
Wells, Charles, 135
Wells, Major, 218
Welsh, Herbert, The New Gentleman of the Road, by, notice of, 396
West, Benjamin, Address on The Life and Works of, by Hon. Hampton L. Carson, 301–319
West, Benjamin, Life and Works of, by Hon. Hampton L. Carson, 301–319; birth and early life, 304; Italian studies, 308 English friends, 309; becomes historical painter to George III, 309, and President of Royal Academy, 310; principal works of, 309–318; refuses Knighthood, 315; pupils of, 315; miniatures, 318
West, Benjamin, Jr., 316
West, John, 304, 315, 316
West Liberty in 1789, 170
West, Matthew, 316
Western Reserve Historical Society, Transactions of No. 103. ——— Three Pennsylvania items purchased, 297
Whiskey, method of making, 110, 111
Whitemarsh Orderly Book, 1777, 205–219
White, Miles, Jr., note on the Biles family, 393
White, Bishop Wm., 310, 311
Wilderness Road to Kentucky, The, its Location and Features, by Wm. Allen Pusey, A.M., M.D., notice of, 394
Wilkinson, Gen. James, 53, 54, 55, 61, 64, 65; son of, 65, 181, 184
WILKINSON, MARY, 284
Williams, Governor (of Miss. Ty.), 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 63
Williams, T. H., 191, 192, 195, 196
Williams, Major West, 206, 213
Wilson, Hon. James, Address on James Wilson and James Iredell; A Parallel and a Contrast, by Hon. Hampton L. Carson, 1; ceremonies on removal of remains from Edenton, N. C., and re-interment Christ Church, Phila., 2; pallbearers and speakers, 2, 3; biographical sketch of, 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 19; Bank of North America, 8; contrasted with James Iredell, 18, 19; case of Chisholm Executor, 20–33
Winston, Wm., 47, 52, 53
Wolford, Lieut. Col., 206
WOLLERY, JACOB [Woolery], 261, 282
Woodford, Brigadier, 206, 211, 212, 217, 219
Worrell, Col. Isaac, 370
WORRELL, REBECCA, wife of James McVeagh, 290
Wright, John, 376
WRIGHT, WM., 361
WYNNE, HANNAH, wife of Daniel Humphreys, 280

YERKES, REBECCA [Leech], wife of George Yerkes, 280
Youghogany, Forks of, 113, 114

Zane, Benjamin, 146
Zane, 'Squire, 140, 145, 149, 154, 161

PUBLICATION FUND
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

This Fund which now amounts to $42,000, is made up of subscriptions of $25 each, which have been invested by the Trustees, and the interest only used for the publication of historical matter. Copies of all publications are sent to subscribers to the Fund during their lives, and to libraries for twenty years. The fund has published fourteen volumes of **Memoirs of the Society** and forty-four volumes of **The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.**

Of the Magazine about 25 sets remain on hand. As long as this edition lasts, persons who subscribe $25 to the capital account and wish complete sets of the Magazine can obtain the forty-four volumes bound, and numbers of current volume, for $50 extra. These subscribers will also receive all future issues of the Magazine and Memoirs.

TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLICATION FUND
THOMAS LYNCH MONTGOMERY, LITT.D., EDITOR
1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia.

LLOYD FAMILY
By
HOWARD WILLIAMS LLOYD

Containing Mr. Lloyd's valuable collections of genealogical data from Pennsylvania, English and Welsh records relating to families concerning which little or nothing has been written. The following genealogies embrace an important part of his labors:—

Awbrey-Vaughan, Blunston, Burbeck, Garrett, Gibbons, Heacock, Hodge, Houlston, Howard, Hunt, Jarman, Jenkins-Griffith, Jones, Knight, Knowles, Lloyd, Newman, Paschall, Paul, Pearson, Pennell, Pott, Pyle, Reed, Sellers, Smith, Thomas, Till, Williams, Wood, and Wynne. In addition to these genealogies, the volume contains Calendar of MSS. in the collection of the late James J. Levick, M.D., Births at Bala and Lay Subsidy Rolls for Merionethshire, Flintshire and Montgomeryshire.

Copies of the book, an 8vo of 437 pages, indexed, bound in cloth, can be purchased from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. Price, $5.00.

THOMAS LYNCH MONTGOMERY,
Librarian.

106 SEP

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 01999 9161

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

DATE DUE

AUG 21 1991

JUL 31 1991

UNIV. OF MICH.
FEB 14 1924
BOUND

Filmed by Preservation
1997